

NEW TIMES

PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY

JUN 4 1986

University of North Carolina
at Greensboro



August 1914 was ushered in to the accompaniment of the initial salvoes of an armed conflict unleashed by imperialism that was to develop into a worldwide shambles involving 38 countries with a total population of 1,500 million—three quarters of the population of the entire planet at the time. All told, 74 million were called to arms, of whom 10 million were fated to die and 20 million crippled for life.

The world war of 1914-18 was an epochal landmark on the tortuous, agonizingly painful road traversed by mankind, and one of its truly historic consequences was the rise in Russia of the world's first workers' and peasants' state.

Realization of the inevitability of the transformation of imperialist war into a civil war, a class war of the oppressed against the oppressors did not come at once, or easily. At first only a few were able to resist nationalistic paranoia and to sound the battle cry "War on war!"

On August 8, 1914, in the first international Socialist conference was held in 1915 in this building in Zimmerwald, Switzerland. It issued a call to the workers of all countries to fight against imperialist war and branded the leaders of the Second International as traitors.



St. Petersburg, at a session of the tsarist Duma charged with chauvinistic frenzy, the Social Democratic deputies, defying the vicious clamour of the jingoists, read out a declaration denouncing the war.

On December 2, 1914, in Berlin, the consistent internationalist Karl Liebknecht fearlessly cast his solitary vote against war credits in kaiser Germany's parliament. War was declared against the war also by his compatriots Rosa Luxemburg,

Clara Zetkin, and Wilhelm Pieck, as did Dimitr Blagoyev and Georgi Dimitrov in Bulgaria, Adolf Warski in Poland, William Gallacher and John MacLean in Britain, and Friedrich Platten in Switzerland.

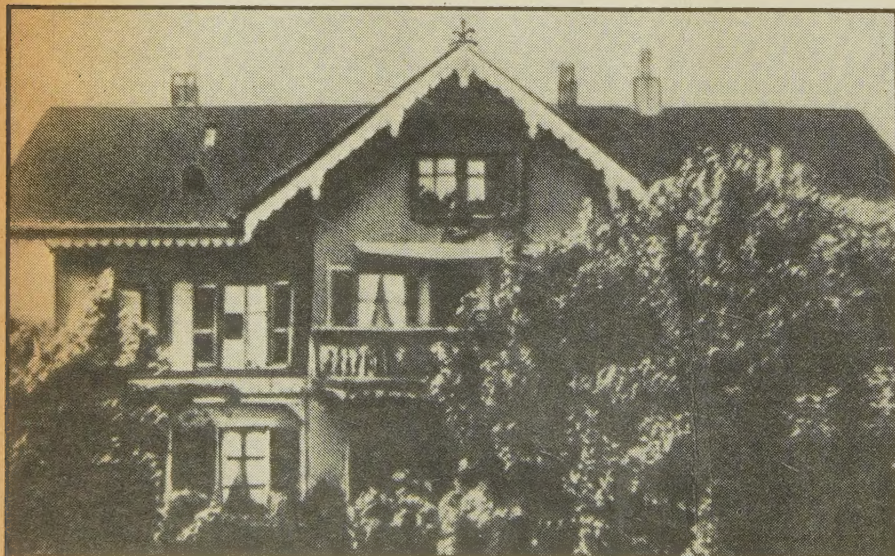
As regards the leaders of the Second International, they reneged on the decisions of the Stuttgart (1907) and Basel (1912) congresses of the International which they themselves had voted for and which called on the international working class to

The Bolshevik members of the Fourth State Duma Grigori Petrovsky, Fyodor Samoilov, Matvei Muranov, Alexei Badayev and Nikolai Shagov, shown above in prison garb, were sentenced by a tsarist court to life exile in Siberia for their active opposition to the war.

fight war and its imperialist incendiaries. This meant the total and final collapse of the Second International.

To raise the banner of proletarian internationalism, to apply the teachings of Marx and Engels as regards war in the conditions of the epoch of imperialism, to formulate the laws governing class struggle at this hour of trial, to translate the theoretical postulates into practice—this was the historical task that devolved in those years upon Lenin and his comrades-in-arms. And the deeper the bourgeoisie dragged the nations into the abyss of war, the more urgent this task became.

For earlier instalments of this brief history of the anti-war struggle see our issues Nos. 1, 4, 6, 12, 14 and 17.



SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

Mikhail Gorbachev's TV address of May 14, in which he dwelt on the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station and some fundamental problems relating to guarantees of the security of all humanity, was received with deep satisfaction by the Soviet people.

The reaction to the accident has become something of a touchstone of political morality. All Soviet people and all people of good will abroad rallied in a united community of friends to the assistance of those who suffered. We warmly appreciate the response of the American businessman and public figure Armand Hammer, Professor Robert Gale, and other scientists who generously came to the aid of the afflicted. This was an instructive example of how relations between nations, too, could be built on a sense of responsibility. But traditions of a different order are still tenacious. Witness the vicious anti-Soviet campaign and the speculation on the misfortune that befell Soviet men and women. The propaganda clamour, of course, pursued ends having nothing in common either with people's health or with information. The purpose was to divert world attention away from the crucial thing--the need to take urgent steps to check the nuclear arms race and totally to eliminate nuclear weapons.

In his address Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a far-reaching programme for strengthening international cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy and to heighten the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency. But it should not be forgotten that besides the problems of the peaceful atom there is the problem of the atom geared to war. All the more meaningful, then, is the Soviet call addressed to the whole of humanity to double and redouble efforts to combat the nuclear threat and to stop nuclear testing. The Soviet Union has again set an example of a responsible approach to the pressing problems of the time by prolonging its moratorium on nuclear tests until Hiroshima Day, August 6. Mikhail Gorbachev once again offered to meet the U.S. President at the earliest date in any European capital willing to receive them, or in Hiroshima, with a view to agreeing on a ban on tests. It is symbolic that Hiroshima promptly agreed to act as host.

Chernobyl is a reminder that the nuclear age requires a responsible approach to international relations, a new political thinking, concerted effort by all in order radically to improve the world political climate.

What happened at the Chernobyl atomic power station cannot but evoke sadness and sympathy. The vicious anti-Soviet campaign being whipped around this occurrence here in the United States is disgusting. I think Chernobyl should prompt many people in the U.S. to give thought above all to the fearful danger to peace on our planet presented by the existence of colossal arsenals of nuclear weapons.

Jerome LONG
Minneapolis, U.S.A.

I wish to express my deep sympathy to the Soviet people in connection with the accident at Chernobyl. It brought to mind the tragedy in Bhopal which occurred through the fault of a Western monopoly and cost the lives of so many of our people. Of course, the two occurrences can hardly be compared, but another comparison suggests itself: the reaction of Western politicians and the mass media in both cases. They have raised a propaganda outcry about the Chernobyl accident. At the time of the Bhopal incident, however, they tried to hush up the consequences of the tragedy, to minimize the responsibility of the concern.

Sadashiv CHAUDHURI
Bombay, India

Soviet people are grateful to the foreign scientists and physicians who came to the U.S.S.R. to render assistance to those who suffered in Chernobyl and to help cope with the consequences of the accident. Specifically, the American Drs Gale and Terasaki. I fully agree with what Mikhail Gorbachev said about the need to set up an international mechanism for rendering urgent assistance in the event of dangerous situations at atomic power stations.

Andrei PODOLNY
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

HOBOE
BPEMЯ

TEMPS
NOUVEAUX

NOWE
CZASY

TIEMPOS
NUEVOS

NEUE
ZEIT

nová
doba

TEMPI
NUOVI

TEMPOS
NOVOS

21

Founded 1943

June 2
1986

2

Breeding Local Conflicts

3

Mikhail Gorbachev's
May 14 TV Address

6

Chernobyl:
The Whole Country
Helping

7

Another Alarm Signal

7

Armand Hammer
Interviewed

10

Syria: No to U.S. Diktat

14

Make a Start With Europe

15

Week of Action
Against War

23

AAPSO Session

25

With the Muslims
of Soviet Central Asia

28

The Natural Rubber
of Vietnam

THE EDITOR'S PAGE (1),
PANORAMA (11), READ-
ERS' FORUM (16), TAK-
ING UP A POINT (30),
GRAPHIC COMMENT (31).
COVER:

May 25 — Africa
Liberation Day

"Conakry schoolchildren"
(Guinea)

Photo by Y. Korolyov

BREEDING LOCAL CONFLICTS

Academician EVGENY PRIMAOKOV
Director, World Economics and
International Relations Institute

The world is living through a crucial stage in its development. In today's complex and dangerous situation, where nuclear confrontation threatens a nuclear holocaust, new political thinking is urgently called for. Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed this out at the Soviet-American summit in Geneva. The idea was confirmed and elaborated upon in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress.

This new political thinking must recognize the objective interests of various countries, seek the areas where these interests overlap and, finally, ways of bringing them closer together. Hence the need for the obligatory observance of measures guaranteeing the mutual security of the two leading

nuclear powers—the Soviet Union and the United States, the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO countries—on which, in the last analysis, universal security depends. The Soviet Union has called upon the United States to discard the notion that the interests of the U.S.S.R. are in total conflict with those of the U.S. Washington has often described these interests as being "poles apart." This implies that what benefits the United States is detrimental to the Soviet Union, and vice versa. There is no ignoring or concealing the difference in the interests of the two powers, the leaders of the two opposite systems. Nevertheless, there is an area where the difference, and even incompatibility, of interests cannot be allowed to become an absolute. This area is security. Under present-day

conditions the weakening of one side's security is contrary to the other side's interests. By making it suspicious and impelling it to step up the arms race, such a weakening of security may further destabilize the situation.

New political thinking also presupposes, as a matter of course, a correct analysis of the objective process of world socio-political development.

Marxism-Leninism has always proceeded from the premise that it is futile and inadmissible to proceed to revolution from the outside. At the same time, nowhere in the world can the socio-political status quo be preserved artificially, through the export of counterrevolution. Therefore, the U.S. would be well advised to stop viewing world developments solely through the prism of Soviet-American confrontation.

Defining the current objectives of the United States proclaimed course of "tough antagonism to the U.S.S.R.," U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger insisted on confrontation with the Soviet Union at global and regional levels. This amounts to horizontal or geographical escalation of U.S. anti-Soviet and anti-socialist activities and is based on a philosophy

That owes its existence, at any rate in part, to John

Continued
on p. 18

Editor-in-Chief: VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate Editors: L. BEZYMENSKY, V. CHERNYAVSKY, S. GOLYAKOV, Y. GUDKOV, A. PIN, B. PISHCHIK, V. ISOPPI, D. VOLSKY.

Design by A. GARANIN

Editor of English edition: E. SMIRNOV

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S

May 14 TV Address

Good evening, comrades,

As you all know, misfortune has befallen us—the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station. It has brought pain to Soviet people and stirred the international community. This is the first time we have come up against the reality of such a formidable force as nuclear energy that has gone out of control.

Considering the extraordinary and dangerous nature of what happened in Chernobyl, the Political Bureau took into its hands the organization of all work to repair the damage caused by the breakdown and to limit its consequences with all speed. A government commission was formed which immediately left for the scene of the accident, while at the Political Bureau a group was formed under Nikolai Ryzhkov to deal with problems of great urgency.

The work goes on in effect around the clock. The scientific, technical and economic potential of the entire country has been set in motion. Operating in the area of the accident are organizations of many U.S.S.R. ministries and departments led by ministers, prominent scientists and specialists, units of the Soviet Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

A huge share of the work and responsibility has been undertaken by the Party, government and economic bodies of the Ukraine and Byelorussia. The operating staff of the Chernobyl atomic power station are working selflessly and courageously.

What exactly happened?

As specialists report, the reactor's capacity suddenly increased during a scheduled shutdown of the fourth unit. The considerable emission of steam and subsequent reaction resulted in the formation of hydrogen, which exploded, damaging the reactor and causing radioactive emission.

It is still too early to pass final judgement on the causes of the accident. All aspects of the problem—design, technical and operational—are under the close scrutiny of the government commission. It goes

without saying that when the investigation into the accident is over, all the necessary conclusions will be drawn and measures taken to rule out a repetition of such an occurrence.

As I have said, it was the first time we encountered such an emergency when the need arose to quickly curb the dangerous force of the atom that had gone out of con-

affected by the accident. The inhabitants of the settlement near the station were evacuated within a matter of hours and then, when it became clear that there was a potential threat to the health of people in the adjoining zone, they too were moved to safe areas. All this complex work required utmost speed, organization and precision.

Nevertheless the measures that



trol and limit the scale of the accident.

The seriousness of the situation was obvious. It was necessary to evaluate it immediately and competently. And as soon as we received reliable initial information it was made available to the Soviet people and sent through diplomatic channels to the governments of foreign countries.

On the basis of this information practical work to correct the situation and limit the grave aftermath of the accident gained scope.

In the obtaining situation we considered it our paramount duty, a duty of special importance, to ensure the safety of the population and provide effective assistance to those

were taken failed to ensure the safety of many people. Two died at the time of the accident—Vladimir Shashenok, an adjuster of automatic systems, and Valery Khodemchuk, an operator at the atomic power station. 299 people have been hospitalized with radiation sickness of varying degrees of gravity. Seven of them have died. All possible treatment is being given to the rest. They are being treated by the country's best scientific and medical specialists, at specialized clinics in Moscow and other cities which have at their disposal the most up-to-date methods known to medicine.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government, I express deep sympathy to the families and relatives of the deceas-

ed, to the work collectives, to all who have suffered from this misfortune, who have suffered personal loss. The Soviet government will take care of the families of those who died or were injured.

The highest praise is due the people of the areas that warmly received the evacuees. They responded to the misfortune of their neighbours as though it were their own, and in the best traditions of our people showed them kindness, consideration, and attention.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are receiving thousands upon thousands of letters and telegrams from Soviet people and also from citizens of foreign countries expressing sympathy and support for the victims. Many Soviet families are prepared to take children into their homes for the summer and are offering material aid. There have been numerous requests to be sent to work in the area of the accident.

These manifestations of humane-ness, genuine humanism, high moral standards cannot but move each and every one of us.

Assistance to people, I repeat, remains our top priority.

At the same time, vigorous work is under way at the station itself and in the adjacent territory to limit the scale of the accident. In the most difficult conditions it proved possible to extinguish the fire and prevent it from spreading to the other power units. The staff of the station stopped the three other reactors and put them in a safe state. They are under constant control.

All those involved—firemen, transport and building workers, medical personnel, special chemical protection units, helicopter crews and other detachments of the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Internal Affairs—withstood and are withstanding a severe test.

In these difficult conditions much depended on a correct scientific evaluation of what was happening, because without such an evaluation it would have been impossible to work out and apply effective measures to cope with the accident and its consequences. Prominent scientists from the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, leading specialists from ministries and departments, from the Ukraine and Byelorussia are successfully coping with this task.

People have acted and are continuing to act, I must say, heroically, selflessly. I think we will yet have occasion to name these courageous people and evaluate their exploit worthily.

I have every grounds to say that despite the gravity of what happen-

ed, the damage was limited owing in decisive measure to the courage and skill of our people, their devotion to duty, and the concerted effort of all those who are taking part in liquidating the aftermath of the accident.

This task, comrades, is being tackled not only in the area of the atomic power station itself but also in scientific institutes, at many of the country's enterprises which are supplying everything needed to those directly involved in the difficult and dangerous effort to deal with the accident.

Thanks to the effective measures taken, we can say today that the worst is over. The most critical consequences have been averted. Of course, there is much left to be done. It is not yet time to relax. Much time-consuming work still lies ahead. The radiation level in the station zone and in the immediate vicinity still remains dangerous for human health.

The top-priority task as of today, therefore, is to deal with the after-effects of the accident. A large-scale programme for the decontamination of the territory of the power station and adjoining settlement, of buildings and structures has been drawn up and is being implemented. The necessary manpower, material and technical resources have been concentrated for that purpose. In order to prevent radioactive contamination of the water, due measures are being taken at the site of the station and on the adjacent territory.

The meteorological service is constantly monitoring the radiation situation on the ground, in the water, and in the atmosphere. It has at its disposal the necessary technical systems and is using specially equipped planes, helicopters and ground monitoring stations.

It is absolutely clear that all these operations will take much time and will require considerable effort. They should be carried out meticulously, in a planned and organized manner. The area must be restored to a state that in no way endangers the health and normal life of people.

I must mention one more aspect of the matter. I have in mind the reaction abroad to what happened at Chernobyl. The world at large, and this should be emphasized, treated with understanding the misfortune that befell us and our actions in that complex situation.

We are profoundly grateful to our friends in socialist countries who have shown solidarity with the Soviet people at this time of trouble. We are grateful to the political and public leaders in other countries for their sincere sympathy and support.

We express our deep appreciation to foreign scientists and specialists

who offered to help in coping with the consequences of the accident. I wish to make special mention of the participation of the American doctors Robert Gale and Paul Terasaki in the treatment of the afflicted and also to thank the business circles of those countries which promptly complied with our request to purchase certain types of equipment, materials and medicines.

We appreciate the objective attitude to the events at the Chernobyl atomic power station on the part of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and its Director-General Hans Blix.

In other words, we highly appreciate the sympathy of all those who responded to our misfortune and our problems with an open heart.

At the same time it is impossible to pass by, without political assessment, the attitude to the accident at Chernobyl of the governments, political leaders and the mass media in certain NATO countries, especially the U.S. They launched an unbridled anti-Soviet campaign. It is difficult to imagine all that has been said and written these days—"thousands of casualties," "mass graves for the dead," "a desolated Kiev," "the whole of the Ukraine polluted," and so on and so forth.

In a word, we faced a veritable mountain of lies—most unconscionable and malicious lies. It is unpleasant to recall all this, but it must be done. The international community must know what we had to face. This must be done to find the answer to the question: what actually prompted that highly immoral campaign? Its organizers, to be sure, were interested neither in the truth about the accident nor in the fate of the people at Chernobyl, in the Ukraine, in Byelorussia, in any other place or any other country. They needed a pretext for defaming the Soviet Union, its foreign policy, for lessening the impact of the Soviet proposals regarding the termination of nuclear tests and the elimination of nuclear weapons, and, at the same time, for countering the growing criticism of U.S. conduct on the international scene and of its militaristic course.

Bluntly speaking, certain Western politicians had a very definite purpose. They were out to block all possibilities for improving international relations, to sow new seeds of mistrust and suspicion towards the socialist countries.

All this made itself clearly felt during the meeting of the leaders of the Seven held not long ago in Tokyo. What did they tell the world, of what dangers did they warn mankind? Of Libya, groundlessly ac-

cused of terrorism, and also of the Soviet Union which, it turns out, failed to provide them with "full" information about the accident at Chernobyl. And not a word about the most important thing—how to stop the arms race, how to rid the world of the nuclear threat. Not a word in reply to the Soviet initiatives, to our definite proposals for ending nuclear tests, ridding mankind of nuclear and chemical weapons and reducing conventional arms.

How is all this to be understood? One gets the impression that the leaders of the capitalist powers who gathered in Tokyo wanted to use the Chernobyl accident as a pretext for distracting the attention of the world public from all those problems that make them uncomfortable, but which are so real and important for the whole world.

The reaction to the accident at the Chernobyl station has become a kind of a test of political morality. Once again two different approaches, two different lines of conduct were revealed for all to see.

The ruling circles of the U.S. and its most zealous allies—especially the F.R.G.—regarded the accident as another opportunity to raise additional obstacles to the development and deepening of the East-West dialogue, which is progressing slowly enough as it is, and to justify the nuclear arms race. Moreover, an attempt was made to prove to the world that talks and, even more so, agreements with the U.S.S.R. are impossible, and thus to give the green light to further military preparations.

Our attitude to this tragedy is completely different. We realize that it is another alarm signal, another grim warning that the nuclear age calls for new political thinking and a new policy.

It has strengthened still more our conviction that the foreign policy course set by the 27th CPSU Congress is correct and that our proposals for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, the ending of nuclear explosions, and the creation of an all-embracing system of international security meet those inexorably stringent demands which the nuclear age makes on the political leadership of all countries.

As to the "lack" of information, over which a special campaign, moreover a political campaign, has been launched, it is a pure invention. This is confirmed by the fact that, as everyone remembers, it took the U.S. authorities ten days to inform their own Congress and months to inform the world community about the tragedy that oc-

curred at the Three Mile Island atomic power station in 1979.

How we acted I have already said.

All this enables one to judge who approaches in what way the matter of informing their own people and foreign countries.

But this is not the main thing. We hold that the accident at Chernobyl, just like the accidents at U.S., British and other atomic power stations, faces all countries with very serious problems that require a responsible attitude.

Over 370 atomic reactors are now functioning in different countries. This is the reality. The future of the world economy is hardly conceivable without the development of atomic energy. Altogether 40 reactors with an aggregate capacity of over 28 million kilowatts are now operating in our country. As we know, mankind derives considerable benefit from the atom when it is used for peaceful purposes.

But, of course, we are all obliged to act with still greater caution, to concentrate the efforts of science and technology on ensuring the safe harnessing of the great and formidable power contained in the atomic nucleus.

For us the indisputable lesson of Chernobyl is that in conditions of the further development of the scientific and technical revolution the question of reliability and safety of equipment, the question of discipline, order and organization acquire paramount importance. Observance of the most stringent standards is needed everywhere and in everything.

Further, we consider it necessary to call for a serious deepening of cooperation within the framework of the IAEA. What could be done in this respect?

First. An international regime of safe nuclear power development could be created on the basis of close cooperation between all nations engaged in nuclear power engineering. A system of early warning and supply of information in the event of accidents or malfunctions at atomic power stations, specifically when this is accompanied by radioactive emission, should be established under such a regime. It is likewise necessary to set up an international mechanism, both on a bilateral and multilateral basis, for the speediest rendering of mutual assistance when dangerous situations emerge.

Second. For the discussion of the entire range of relevant matters it would be in place to convene a highly authoritative special international conference in Vienna under IAEA auspices.

Third. In view of the fact that the

IAEA was founded back in 1957 and that its resources and staff are not in keeping with the level of the development of present-day nuclear power engineering, it would be expedient to enhance the role and possibilities of that unique international organization. The Soviet Union is ready for this.

Fourth. It is our conviction that the United Nations Organization and its specialized agencies, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), should be more actively involved in the effort to ensure safe development of peaceful nuclear activity.

At the same time, it should not be forgotten that in our interdependent world there exist, alongside problems of atoms for peace, problems of atoms for war. This is the main thing now. The accident at Chernobyl once again gave an inkling of the abyss into which nuclear war would plunge mankind. For nuclear arsenals already accumulated are fraught with thousands upon thousands of disasters far more terrible than what happened at Chernobyl.

At this time of heightened attention to nuclear issues, the Soviet government, having considered all the circumstances connected with the security of its people and of all humanity, has decided to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests till August 6 of this year, that is, till the date on which more than 40 years ago the first atomic bomb was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, as a result of which hundreds of thousands of people perished.

We again urge the United States to consider with utmost responsibility the degree of danger looming over mankind, to heed the opinion of the world community. Let those who lead the United States show their concern for the life and health of people by their deeds.

I confirm my proposal to President Reagan to meet without delay in the capital of any European state that will be prepared to accept us or, say, in Hiroshima, and to agree on a ban on nuclear testing.

The nuclear age forcefully demands a new approach to international relations, the pooling of efforts of states with different social systems for the sake of ending the disastrous arms race and radically improving the world political climate. Broad horizons will then be cleared for fruitful cooperation between all countries and peoples. This will benefit all people on Earth.

(Pravda, May 15, 1986)

THE WHOLE COUNTRY HELPING

The damaged fourth reactor of the Chernobyl atomic power station is below. A helicopter has hovered over it, taken another measurement of the radiation level, and left. Others will now fly in to bring loads of sand, clay, lead and boron. All this will be dumped in the reactor.

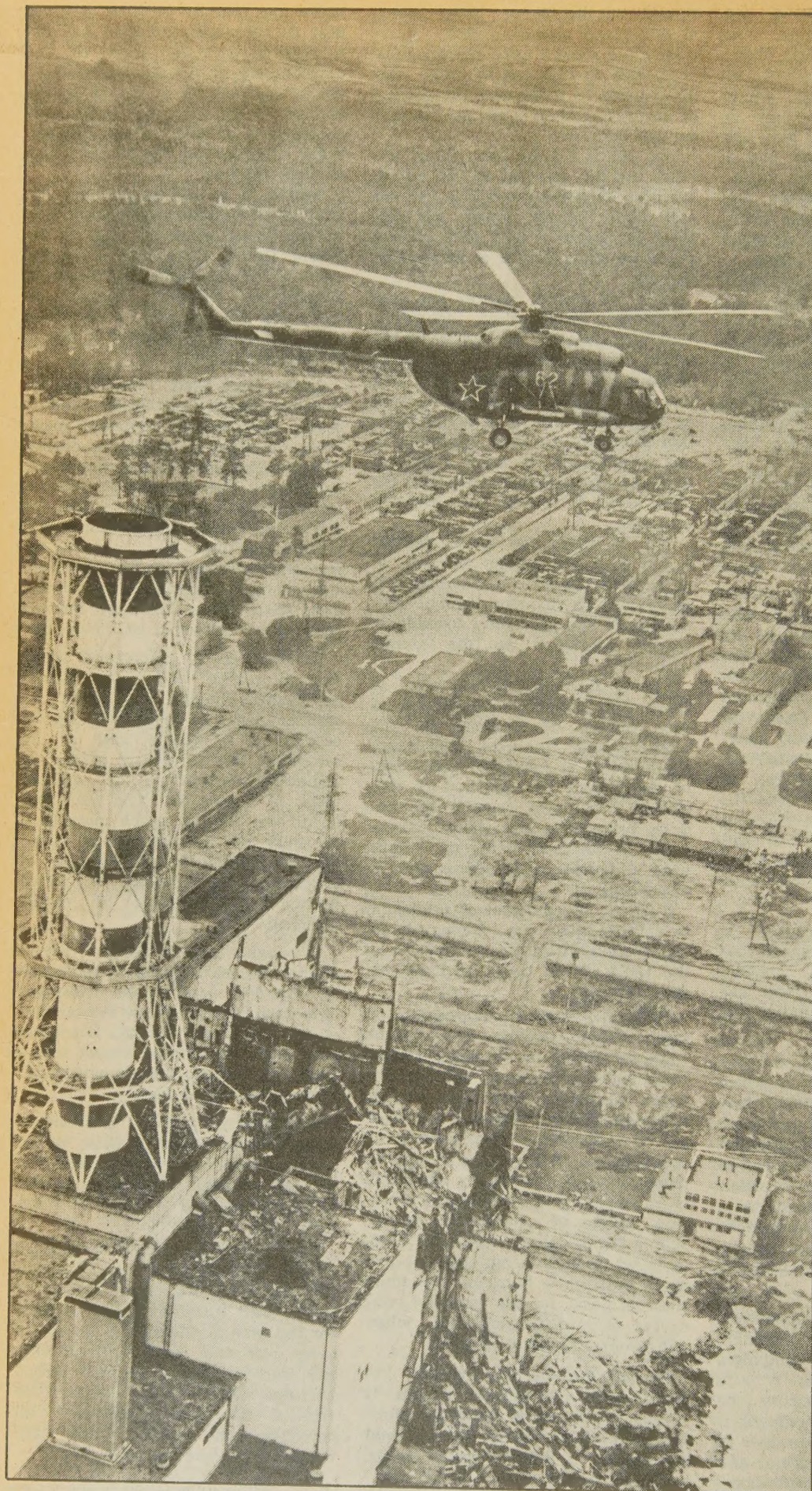
Coping with the aftermath of the accident has become a nationwide cause. "Academy of Sciences," "Ministry of Power," "Ministry of Health" say placards pinned to the doors of the headquarters which coordinates all the work and decides what—and who—is needed at Chernobyl.

Supplies intended for Chernobyl are given the green light and delivered posthaste. Antibiotics and blood transfusion systems, for instance, arrived in the Ukraine from Kurgan within 24 hours of being ordered. A 19-ton remote-controlled robot bulldozer, delivered to Chernobyl from Chelyabinsk by an IL-76 plane, has already started opening the way to the centre of the accident.

"I am willing to do anything I can for Chernobyl..." People volunteer to help bring the situation back to normal in Chernobyl, just as they volunteered to help restore earthquake-ravaged Tashkent and Kajrakkum. The volunteers include a team of the BAM railway's best tunnel-shield operators who left far-off Ulan Ude for the Ukraine by plane.

At the same time, motivated by anti-Sovietism, certain circles abroad have no scruples about trying to make capital out of the disaster. They have even stooped to forgery: what American and Italian TV companies claimed to be documentary scenes of the Chernobyl accident in fact turned out to be a video report on a Trieste cement mill fire.

The photograph which appears here is authentic. It was taken by Vitaly Ankov, a Krasnaya Zvezda correspondent.



ANOTHER ALARM SIGNAL

Professor GENRIKH TROFIMENKO

The accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station clearly demonstrated to the world how awesome a force nuclear energy can be if it gets out of control. In his television address on May 14 CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that what happened in Chernobyl was "another alarm signal, another grim warning that the nuclear age calls for new political thinking and a new policy."

The energy of the atom was first put to military use when the United States bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki 41 years ago. By the beginning of the eighties the atom bombings of the two Japanese cities had taken a toll of more than 210,000 lives. The Japanese have not forgotten this, and anyone who has visited one of the cities has surely seen thousands of schoolchildren gathered at memorials to the victims of the bombings: the memory of these tragedies that defy description is passed on from generation to generation. In other countries the situation is different. Most people everywhere have of course heard of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and in many countries there are powerful anti-nuclear movements and Green parties concerned with environmental protection and opposed even to the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Nevertheless, with the passage of years awareness of the nuclear threat is dulled. Numerous atomic power stations are now in operation; in some countries, France and Sweden, for instance, they generate half of the electricity consumed. Nuclear missiles stand in readiness on launching pads, but despite all the talk about the "fragility" of the nuclear balance, none of them have launched out on their planned trajectories by "accident." Does that mean there is no cause for worry?

Articles by concerned scientists warning against the growing danger are often written for other scientists: the uninitiated has no easy time making his way through the jungle of formulas and

complex calculations proving the inevitability of the "nuclear winter" if a global nuclear war of even "average" intensity were to break out. Only the alarm signals that sound from time to time sharpen people's sense of impending danger and put wide sections of the world public on their guard. These alarm signals are the major nuclear incidents: there were Palomares in Spain, where an American strategic bomber dropped nuclear bombs (which, true, did not explode, but merely cracked, subjecting a large area to radioactive contamination), the explosion of a U.S. strategic Titan missile in its silo, the release of radioactive substances at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in the United States, and scores of other dangerous incidents involving both atoms for peace and atoms for war. Now there is Chernobyl. There is a diabolical irony in the reaction of some Western mass media and politicians to this incident. Cher-

nobyl was not presented simply as a grave mishap, it was exaggerated to Gargantuan dimensions, and this despite the fact that it was not a nuclear blast, but an explosion of gas resulting in a discharge of radioactive particles. Who capitalized on it and why was explained in detail by Mikhail Gorbachev in his television address.

It is in place to ask: if an accident at one nuclear reactor, moreover one not involving a nuclear explosion, is described in the West as nothing short of a global catastrophe, how are we to regard the so-called "limited nuclear wars," "surgical" nuclear strikes, and "counterforce nuclear attacks" which Western politicians, with the assistance of the mass media, have for years presented as admissible, almost innocent actions?

All manner of anti-Sovieteers maintain that Chernobyl was an incredible catastrophe from which it would take the world a long time to recover. This contention is advanced by the very same quarters that for years assured the public that in the event of a "strategic counterforce attack" on a country the size of the U.S. involving simultaneous hits on military installations by over 2,000 one-megaton nuclear warheads "most urban industrial systems... would experience little or no economic effects," while the total number of injured "both from direct effects and fall-out" would be "less than half of the total annual peacetime occurrence of non-fatal injuries in the U.S.A." (This comes from a "reassuring" Pentagon

INTERVIEWS

To Battle for Life

The well-known American businessman and public personality Dr Armand Hammer was one of the first to respond to the Chernobyl accident by offering his help. Dr Hammer sent us a large quantity of necessary medicaments and arranged for medical experts to come to Moscow. On May 15 Dr Hammer and Dr Robert Gale were received in the Kremlin by Mikhail Gorbachev. Before leaving Moscow Dr Hammer granted an interview to New Times reporter L. Yelin.

We remember that in 1921 you bought a field hospital and went to Soviet Russia to help fight the typhus epidemic and the famine. That was 65 years ago. Much has changed since then, and now you are here again in our time of trouble.

Well, when I got the telephone call

from Dr Gale, who is the world's leading specialist on bone marrow transplants, he explained to me that most of the people who had suffered from extreme radiation would die because their bone marrow is destroyed. The only solution, he said, is to transplant bone marrow from donors to these peo-

estimate of the effects of "limited" nuclear war prepared for the U.S. Congress.) Moreover, for years the well-known American physicist Eugene Wigner argued that even if the U.S.S.R., in the event of an American nuclear attack on it, were to retaliate with a full-scale strike not at military installations, but at American cities and industrial centres, the most elementary precautions could ensure the survival of 95 per cent of the U.S. population. But now Western experts hold that non-nuclear damage to one power reactor in the centre of Europe threatens the whole world with unpredictable consequences.

What is the truth?

The truth is that if a single nuclear reactor that gets out of hand presents a formidable threat, even a "super-limited" nuclear war (comparable for yield of the warheads used to the simultaneous destruction, as a result of nuclear reaction getting out of control, of all the atomic power plants now in operation in the world) would mean nothing less than the end of civilization. Thus, the scenarios for "safe" counterforce nuclear wars in vogue in the West are sheer deception, a fiction concocted by the militarists to mislead the public.

All such "reassuring scenarios," under cover of which the hawks in the U.S. Congress and the parliaments of a number of other NATO countries have been putting through ever bigger military budgets, should be consigned to the scrap heap. There can be no safe nuclear war!

More, not only nuclear, but also conventional war is inadmissible in the present conditions. Today both experts and laymen know full well that the destruction of even a few nuclear power stations by conventional bombs or shells in one or another European country would have catastrophic consequences for the whole continent. In short, the world has become too small and fragile for wars and for power politics. It has become truly interdependent. For to keep under control the forces of nature man has mastered the joint efforts of many countries are required.

Drawing due lessons from the Chernobyl accident, as well as from other similar occurrences of the recent past in other countries, and approaching the peaceful use of nuclear energy with a sense of responsibility, the Soviet leadership has put forward a four-point programme aimed at strengthening the international regime of safe nuclear power development. These proposals, set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's May 14 television address, envisage:

First, closer cooperation among all countries engaged in nuclear power development, specifically through the organization of an early warning system and supply of information in the event of accidents or malfunctions at atomic power stations, and the rendering of mutual assistance when dangerous situations emerge.

Second, discussion of the entire

range of relevant matters at a highly authoritative special international conference under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Third, enhancing the role and possibilities of the IAEA, in particular by increasing its resources and staff.

Fourth, active involvement of the U.N. and its specialized agencies (the World Health Organization, for example) in the effort to ensure the safe development of peaceful nuclear power engineering.

The Soviet Union expects that the proposals to strengthen and heighten the role of the IAEA and the other measures to ensure the safe use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes will find support in Washington not only in words, but in deeds.

However, the paramount nuclear problem today is not control over the peaceful atom, but the problem of the uncontrolled military atom. "The accident at Chernobyl," Mikhail Gorbachev said, "once again gave an inkling of the abyss into which nuclear war would plunge mankind." Anyone who pressed the "nuclear button" would thereby forfeit control not only over the military atom but also over his own destiny. Precisely because of this the U.S. strategists' favourite idea

ple. He said he would like to go to the Soviet Union to help and asked if I could arrange it. I sent a telegram to Mr Gorbachev. And two days later Dr Gale was on his way to Moscow, with a visa brought to him at the airport. I arranged for him to call me every day when he got to Moscow. We organized round-the-clock to get a team of doctors to help him. First we needed his associate doctor, transplant specialist Dr Richard Champlin. Secondly, he needed Dr Terasaki, a Japanese physician who works in Los Angeles. Dr Terasaki is a world specialist in tissue typing. Donors have to be selected with great care otherwise they can do more harm than good. I sent Dr Terasaki to Moscow. He is here now and has set up a laboratory

in Moscow to help with the tissue typing. I also found several other medical experts for the team.

Yesterday I went to the hospital myself and I saw the wonderful work that is being done by the mixed team of Soviet and foreign doctors. I also visited the patients and tried to encourage them, telling them we were doing everything possible to help them. They smiled, and it was very touching.

Dr Hammer, you are a medical man. You have always said that you have two great goals of your life—to fight for world peace and to fight against cancer. Yesterday at the hospital you saw what radiation disease means.

Yes, I saw how terrible it could be if we ever get into a nuclear war. It is unthinkable. It would destroy our civilization. A battle for the lives of those

people is being fought at the hospital. Battlefield is a very apt description of what I saw yesterday. And if millions of people are to be saved from the horror of nuclear war we must battle for peace, battle against war.

I understand you were received by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin!

Yes, that was a historic meeting. At first Mr Gorbachev thanked me and thanked Dr Gale. Then I brought up the subject of the summit. Mr Gorbachev said that he was not against a second summit, but that first there must be the right atmosphere in the U.S. and something concrete be accomplished by the meeting.

I believe the General Secretary has been very frank and outspoken. He is doing a great service to the world.

of "controlled and considered" use of the U.S. nuclear arsenal is nothing more than an absurdity. Such use is not a way of gaining the upper hand in a conflict, as the U.S. Defence Secretary says, but the way to launch out on the road to nowhere, the road to the destruction of humanity.

Having considered all aspects of the issue of war and peace, the Soviet leadership is firmly convinced that the nuclear weapon holds the threat of extinction over the entire human race. The character of nuclear weapons and the size of their present stockpiles (about 50,000 nuclear warheads with a total yield equivalent to 12 billion tons of conventional explosives) leave no country any hope of being able to protect itself by military-technical means alone, by means of defences however sophisticated and powerful. Ensuring security is increasingly a political task that can be accomplished only by political means, as was underscored at the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

Accordingly, the Soviet Union advanced a far-reaching proposal for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security. Its basic principles were set forth in the political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress.

In the military sphere the fundamental principles are renunciation by the nuclear powers of war—both nuclear and conventional—against each other or against third countries; prevention of an arms race in outer space; cessation of all nuclear weapons tests and the total destruction of such weapons; a ban on, and the destruction of, chemical weapons; renunciation of the development of other means of mass annihilation; a strictly controlled lowering of the military potentials of the states; reduction of military budgets, and a number of other measures.

In the political sphere—unconditional respect for the right of each people to choose the ways and forms of its development independently; a just political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts; elaboration and implementation of measures aimed at

building confidence between states; elaboration of effective methods of preventing international terrorism; and also a set of measures in the economic and humanitarian spheres, including wider international cooperation in giving effect to the political, social and personal rights of people.

These proposals have not remained a mere declaration of intent. They have been backed by a series of concrete initiatives aimed at overcoming tendencies towards confrontation in the policies of states, at easing international tension, radical reduction of nuclear and conventional armaments, preventing the arms race from being carried over to new spheres, and strengthening peaceful cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

The first and most important of these initiatives is the concrete 15-year programme for the total elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world set forth in the CPSU General Secretary's statement of January 15 this year. This programme, the ultimate objective of which is the ridding of the world of nuclear weapons, calls for the reduction by half in the next 5-8 years of the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States capable of reaching each other's territory, renunciation of the development and deployment of space strike weapons, and the subsequent inclusion in this process of Britain, France and other nuclear powers.

The latest proposal of this order was submitted by the Soviet delegation at the new round of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons which recently opened in Geneva. It is a draft agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe. The Soviet Union has also submitted detailed proposals relating to the prohibition of chemical weapons and the abolition of the stockpiles of these weapons, and to issues that are impeding progress at the Vienna talks on the limitation of arms and armed forces in Central Europe. The Soviet delegation at the Stockholm conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe is also working

actively and constructively to help ensure the early successful conclusion of the conference.

A vivid demonstration of the Soviet Union's dedication to peace and nuclear disarmament is the Soviet government's decision once again to prolong, until August 6 this year, its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests which entered into force on August 6 last year. Announcing the prolongation of the moratorium, Mikhail Gorbachev again proposed an early meeting with President Reagan with a view to agreeing on the prohibition of nuclear tests. At the same time the CPSU General Secretary confirmed his agreement in principle to the next meeting with the U.S. President as agreed at the Geneva summit in November last year. For this meeting to take place, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, two simple things are needed: a desire to see it produce tangible practical results if only on one or two of the issues that command the attention of the entire world, and an appropriate political atmosphere.

Ensuring nuclear security in the world and, primarily, the termination of nuclear tests as the most important and highly symbolic step in this direction, questions relating to the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe, reduction of conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, including the forces of the Soviet Union and the United States, with a simultaneous reduction of operational-tactical nuclear armaments—these are some of the more or less "simple" problems in the complex array of international problems which call for solution by the leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. And if the U.S. leaders are sincere when they declare their readiness to take a new approach to U.S.-Soviet relations, to give an impulse to disarmament, and if they are really concerned about the life and health of the present and future generations, they have every opportunity to confirm this without delay by their concrete actions, by meeting the U.S.S.R. halfway.

President Assad: Syria Will Not Yield to U.S. Diktat

Following the air raid on Libya, U.S. imperialism and its Zionist ally have chosen Syria as the newest object of their threats. Unsubstantiated accusations of "international terrorism" are being levelled against it, and threats to "teach it a lesson" are heard, just as before the U.S. attack on Libya. This time, however, it appears that Israel is to be the main shock force. The republic, which is building a new life, has to be constantly on the alert in the face of the imperialist and Zionist threat.

The interview published below was granted by Syrian President Hafez Assad to Soviet TV world affairs commentator Farid Seiful-Mulyukov.

Mr President, what is your opinion of the Soviet programme for the total, stage-by-stage elimination of weapons of mass destruction, preventing the threat of nuclear war, and establishing a comprehensive international security system?

There is no doubt that the Soviet Union's concrete proposals for ensuring peace and disarmament accord with the aspirations and interests of people the world over.

Such initiatives as the plan for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons, the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing, and the Gorbachev proposal for a reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe are convincing proof of Moscow's sincere desire to check the arms race. Their purpose is to create favourable conditions for averting war in the future. The Soviet Union has demonstrated its good will. It is now up to other countries to take similar measures.

The United States did not support the Soviet peace initiatives and further gravely exacerbated the international situation. What do you think of this indication of the White House's attitude to the fate of peace and the freedom of nations?

It is to be deeply regretted that the United States responded to the Soviet Union's important peace initiatives by further exacerbating international tensions. I have in mind Washington's acts of aggression in different parts of the world. The latest instance is Libya. U.S. aircraft bombed Libyan cities, the homes of civilians, and killed children, women and old people on the pretext that Libya was involved in terrorism. Tripoli

had repeatedly denied having any part in the terrorist acts committed in some European countries.

One may naturally ask by what logic the United States was guided in assuming the right to punish whole countries and peoples, usurping the authority of international bodies and violating law. This logic of intimidation runs counter to the spirit of the time, and we reject it. It is this stand on the part of the United States that has created a grave threat to peace.

But we shall not yield to the threats of American imperialism nor shall we sacrifice our vital interests, freedom and sovereignty. The United States will not wrest concessions from either Syria or those other nations that have chosen the path of independence and social progress.

The American doctrine of neoglobalism was clearly manifested in the U.S. acts of aggression against Libya and other countries. What, in your opinion, are the aims of this doctrine with regard to the Arab world?

For us, these aims are obvious. Israel is pursuing an expansionist policy in the region while the United States wants to establish its dominance over the Middle East. In this lies the chief reason for the present tension in the region. Washington, aided by Tel Aviv, is trying, in its own interests, to establish in Arab countries regimes and order that suit it. We shall not yield to this diktat and shall counter any attempt to cause damage to our country. We see no alternative. The Arab peoples are waging a just struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories and their freedom and independence.

Israel has lately been aggravating tension on the Golan Heights and threatening aggression against Syria. What lies behind this policy?

Experience shows that before launching a new aggression Israel usually resorts to the tactic of threats and intimidation. The latest threats against Syria may be a prelude to armed aggression. I am sure, however, that the Syrian people is not afraid of American-Israeli threats and is taking all necessary measures to strengthen the country's defences. Syria is not alone. It relies on the determination and firmness of its people, and also on the strength of the Arab and world liberation movement, and its friends, especially the Soviet Union.

Now let us look at the situation in Lebanon. What factors, do you think, militate against the restoration of peace, security and national concord in this country?

For many years Syria has been trying to help the Lebanese people end the civil war in their country. We have always believed that concord between the Lebanese people is the best way of achieving this goal. But the Syrian efforts are, again, hindered by American-Israeli interference.

At the end of last year Syria mediated an agreement between the feuding Lebanese groups. But the United States and Israel did their utmost to wreck it. We told the Americans unequivocally that they were out to impede the implementation of the jointly adopted document that had laid the basis for peace in Lebanon. Those who are attempting to drag out the crisis are the worst enemies of the Lebanese people.

We believe that national concord in Lebanon must be achieved by all means and an end must be put to the civil war. We stand for the independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Lebanese republic and shall continue our efforts for the achievement of these objectives.

What, in your opinion, are the political ways of resolving the conflict in the region?

Syria supports the Soviet proposals for a Middle East settlement. They are consonant with the initiatives approved by the Arab countries at their conference in Fez. The trouble is that the United States and Israel reject all these proposals—both Soviet and Arab. I see no way of establishing peace in our region other than by convening an international conference on a Middle East settlement under the aegis of the U.N.,

and certainly with the participation of the Soviet Union and the United States. Washington and Tel Aviv are torpedoing such a conference and the Soviet Union's participation in it.

All this exposes once more the aggressive designs of the United States and Israel, their reluctance to establish a just peace in the Middle East, and their deliberate attempts to drive the settlement process into a deadlock.

Let me turn to Soviet-Syrian relations. Our countries have concluded a treaty of friendship and cooperation. What role does it play in the extension of our traditional ties!

The treaty of friendship and cooperation has laid a firm foundation for multiform cooperation between our countries.

Soviet-Syrian ties are dynamic and effective. I want to stress once again our earnest desire to promote friendship between Syria and the Soviet Union.

In April Syria celebrated the 40th anniversary of its independence. Its progressive, anti-imperialist policy has taken clear-cut shape under the leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party. How would you characterize Syria's main achievements on this road!

Syria was one of the first countries in the Third World to overthrow the colonial yoke and win national independence. Over the past 40 years its people have firmly countered imperialist plots and pacts directed against the sovereignty of the republic.

In spite of the heavy burden borne by the Syrian people in the fight against the aggressive and imperialist forces, it has carried out far-reaching changes in the political, economic, cultural and other fields.

Mass organizations play an active role in building our new life. The Arab Socialist Renaissance Party is a mass organizationally strong party. We have established the National Progressive Front, which includes all the country's patriotic and democratic parties. Firm interaction and cooperation between the progressive sections of our society are particularly important now that Syria has become an object of threats and aggressive sallies on the part of hostile forces.

PANORAMA

SOUTHERN AFRICA

ACT OF BRIGANDAGE

South Africa's racist authorities have committed a further heinous crime. On their orders the capitals of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana were attacked from the air early on the morning of May 19. After bombing of the still sleeping cities helicopters moved in to drop raiding parties which opened fire on civilians. Until then, South Africa had only attacked some cities in Angola and Mozambique from the air. Now the capitals of three more states have been made bombing targets. The South African rulers are expanding the scale of their aggressive policy.

This time, too, Pretoria resorted to false assertions to the effect that the attack on the neighbouring states was part of combating African National Congress "terrorists" who allegedly used their territories as bases from which to operate against South Africa. ANC leaders repeatedly denied these assertions and stressed that their combat units had their bases not outside, but inside South Africa.

It looks as if the just struggle the people of South Africa are waging against the apartheid regime, shaking it to its foundations, has not only given the racist chieftains insomnia but also scared them out of their wits. By this show of strength outside the country they intended to alter the course of events within South Africa in their favour. The piratical raid was to some extent an act of desperation. But not only that.

South Africa's aggressiveness with regard to its neighbours should be seen in the context of the Reagan Administration's global strategy aimed at destabilizing and overthrowing governments that fail to meet its wishes in the Third World in general, and Africa in particular. It was hardly accidental that the air raids on Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana almost immediately followed the U.S. bandit attack on Libya.

Pretoria and Washington have long joined hands in the south of Africa. The Reagan-proclaimed policy of "constructive engagement" with the racist regime has given Pretoria a free hand and encouraged it to take to state terrorism. It resorts to economic blockades against its neighbours (as in the case of Lesotho early this year). Pretoria's cut-

throats have repeatedly invaded Botswana, wounding and killing civilians. The racists' special services organize and support the anti-government bands at work in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe. South Africa brings its own troops into play increasingly frequently. They have made more than 10 incursions into Angola already; now 10 battalions of picked South African troops are concentrated on the Angolan border, obviously poised for a new sally. And now Pretoria, following its senior partner's example, has made a practice of bombing peaceful cities. . . .

The "constructive engagement" between the United States and South Africa has effectively become an aggressive Washington-Pretoria axis. The roles have been shared out between the senior and junior partners: South Africa's job is to fight its "objectionable" neighbours. Since it resorts to methods that run counter to all international legal norms as well as the U.N. Charter, Pretoria is from time to time publicly censured at the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council where Washington unfailingly supports it. The U.S. invariably blocks all proposals to apply effective sanctions against the racist regime. In this way the U.S. admits its complicity in the racist crimes.

The new act of aggression which Pretoria has committed against the three of its neighbouring states has made it only too obvious that peace and stability in South Africa and in the rest of the region can only be possible given the elimination of the apartheid regime. The people of South Africa must play the main part in achieving this vital objective. They will certainly carry on their fight, with the continued support of the frontline states. The leaders of these states have made it clear that no threats or acts of aggression by the Pretoria authorities will compel them to stop maintaining fraternal solidarity with the people of South Africa. Now, on the eve of Africa Liberation Day and the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of Southern Africa, it would be especially appropriate to stress that in their hour of need they have the support of the U.S.S.R., the socialist community and people of good will the world over.

Y. BOCHKARYOV

PACIFIC

NEW DOCTRINE, OLD AIMS

The tenth Rimpac naval manoeuvres have begun in the Pacific. Taking part are the navies of the U.S., Canada, Australia, Japan (which joined the programme in 1980) and Great Britain, in a resurgence of imperial ambitions. London offered to take the place of insubordinate New Zealand whose anti-nuclear policy has caused the virtual disintegration of the ANZUS bloc.

The object of the exercise, according to military experts, is to rehearse land operations supported from the air and sea, blockade of coast, bomb strikes at naval aircraft. In other words, the U.S. Seventh Fleet and the fleets of America's allies taking part in the manoeuvres are preparing to act within the framework of the doctrine of "little intensity conflicts."

This Pentagon doctrine provides for the conduct of "fire brigade" or "police" operations in hot spots of the planet—wherever events get out of U.S. control. Speaking at the National Defence University in Washington, Secretary of State Shultz said that "small conflicts" must be dealt with at once, before they jeopardize U.S. interests. Encountering "a wide range of ambiguous threats in the shadowy area between major war and millennial peace," Shultz said, "we must be prepared to commit our political, economic and, if necessary, our military power when the threat is still manageable." If political pressure and economic blackmail will not help, Shultz warned "recalcitrants" like New Zealand, the United States would resort to force. The occupation of Grenada and the bombing of Libya show what Washington means by "manageable." It is operations of the kind used against Grenada and Libya that are being rehearsed in Rimpac-86.

The Pacific zone has lately been disquieting the Washington "firemen." New Zealand's example has proved catching. The countries of the South Pacific will not tolerate the presence of U.S. nuclear submarines there. "If the situation in the region continues to take the same course, this could lead to the collapse of U.S. strategy," the Japanese Nihon Keizai observes. The U.S. bases on the Philippines are in danger. The popular unrest in South Korea threatens to sweep away the Chun Doo Hwan dictatorship and expel 40,000 U.S. servicemen from the country along with their

nuclear arsenals.

In reply, the United States is advocating the establishment of a "Pacific community" to which it is proposed to give a military-political slant. Steps are being taken to strengthen the system of military cooperation with Australia and to preserve the pro-American dictatorship in Seoul. There are hopes of expanding the military partnership with Tokyo.

In the present situation, with ANZUS falling apart and the whole system of American military alliances in the Asian and Pacific region splitting at the seams, Washington is pinning great hopes on Japan. In an interview to the Japanese Yomiuri, the U.S. Ambassador in Tokyo Mansfield said that the fact that the question of Japanese-American cooperation was not raised at the Tokyo meeting of the Seven is convincing proof of the incomparably close cooperation between the two countries. The ambassador pointed out that eight ships of the Japanese naval Self-Defence Forces were taking part in Rimpac-86 whereas only a few years ago Japan sent only one ship to such exercises.

Rimpac-86 will give the Japanese fleet the necessary experience for possible participation in U.S. "fire brigade and police" operations. The Japanese armed forces control a thousand-mile

zone around the country, but the Defence Agency Director-General Kato stated in parliament that the law does not place any geographical limits on such operations. Tokyo is no longer thinking merely in terms of Japan's defence, it is broadening its horizons—on a regional scale so far. One of Kato's subordinates told parliament that a Rapid Deployment Force, after the American pattern, would be formed in the event of "contingencies" in the Far East (the Tokyo version of the "little intensity conflicts" doctrine). The new five-year plan (1986-90) for modernizing the Self-Defence Forces provides for a corresponding increase in the combat capability of the air force and the navy.

"They will have more destroyers and anti-submarine warfare aircraft than our own Seventh Fleet has," Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger said with satisfaction of his Japanese counterparts. He also proposed holding joint manoeuvres with American troops stationed in South Korea. In Japan this proposal is regarded as an attempt to tie Tokyo and Seoul by military bonds. Combined with the participation of Japan and South Korea in the "regional defence initiative" (the Far Eastern component of SDI), this could mean the formation of a new military structure in the Asian and Pacific region, linked with the North Atlantic bloc through the United States.

L. MLECHIN

WAR CRIMINALS

WHY ONLY NOW

Two recent trials, though they took place in different countries and the dimensions of the crimes varied, had a common feature, apart from being trials of war criminals. One was the trial in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, of the former interior minister of the pro-Hitler "Croatian government" Andrija Artukovic, and the other, in Krefeld, F.R.G., of former SS Scharfuhrer Wolfgang Otto. The former had to answer for the killing of more than 700,000 people, and the latter, for the murder of Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of Germany's Communists.

The main common denominator of the two related not to the past but to the present—to the reasons why the trials were not held before this. After all, Artukovic's crimes became known already during the war, and Otto's involvement in the murder of Thaelmann was revealed in 1947. Why did these criminals

get their just deserts only in the 1980s? Because all along they were under the wing of the judiciary of the "free world," whose leaders lay claim to the right to tell others how to live.

The facts are perfectly clear. After the war Artukovic took cover in the United States. Yugoslavia's requests for his extradition were at first simply ignored. Then came 30 years of legal pettifoggery which lasted until this year, when under pressure from the world public opinion Artukovic was deported to Yugoslavia, where he faced trial. As was pointed out in the indictment, Artukovic's crimes placed him "in a class with the major war criminals on whom freedom-loving mankind passed judgement at the Nuremberg and other trials. Their crimes cannot be forgotten." The butcher was given the death sentence he merited.

As regards Otto, his story is also highly illuminating. Immediately after the war an American military court convicted him for crimes he had committed in

the Buchenwald death camp. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison, but already in 1952 the "soft-hearted" U.S. authorities released him. When witnesses to his involvement in the murder of Thaelmann were found, the F.R.G. judicial authorities repeatedly dropped on various pretexts the legal action taken against him. The trial was resumed in 1985, and it too practically turned into a farce, with not only the defence, but also the state prosecutor seeking his acquittal. Nevertheless, Otto was found guilty and sentenced to four years in prison. The sentence, of course, was lenient, to say the least, but it was something, considering that hundreds of war criminals have been acquitted in the F.R.G. More than 40 years have passed since the war, but many of these criminals are still living in clover. How much more time is needed to clear away this criminal residue of the Third Reich? And how much longer will it take, say, the French courts to begin hearings in the case of Klaus Barbie, who was ex-

tradited to France from Bolivia as far back as 1983? From this standpoint the example set by Yugoslav justice is highly commendable: the Artukovic trial began two months after he was returned to Yugoslavia. The hearings were conducted with meticulous thoroughness in the spirit of Nuremberg. True, some Western quarters again took up cudgels in his behalf on the plea that there was no point in penalizing a feeble old man. Commenting on this, the Yugoslav Vjesnik pointed out that the statute of limitations was not applicable to killers like Artukovic, Hess, or Barbie.

In October 40 years will have passed since the Nuremberg judgement was handed down. Would not resolute action by the world community to bring all war criminals to book be the best way to commemorate that anniversary?

V. GRISHNY

Our Own Correspondent

Belgrade

ed out summary justice to patriots throughout the six years during which the fettering Munich agreement was in force. Speaking of expatriation, it was the Czechs who were driven out of Sudetenland, and their return in 1945 was simply justice restored.

At revanchist rallies Kohl has found appreciative audiences. In Munich, too, his statement that it was inadmissible "to concentrate unilaterally on détente and mutual understanding, leaving it to others to take care of our defence" went down well. That, of course, was an implicit attempt to justify the arms buildup, the deployment of American first-strike nuclear missiles in the F.R.G., complicity in the militarization of space, support for American chemical rearmament plans and the steady increase of the Bundeswehr's fighting capacity. In revanchist communities—not only Sudeten but also Silesian, Pomeranian, East Prussian and others united in the so-called Union of Expellees—the present F.R.G. government has its most ardent supporters in all this.

The Federal Chancellor deemed the Munich rally a fitting occasion to demand that the Soviet Union compensate for the material damage allegedly done to the F.R.G. by the Chernobyl accident. It goes without saying that such claims are groundless, both legally and otherwise. Thinking people here realize this. But Herr Kohl has no scruples about making political capital out of the tragedy of others and in this, too, spiritual kinship was displayed again. The Sudeten Germans have also calculated the damage allegedly caused them by the Czechs down to the last pfennig, and add interest to the figure annually, as if the nazis had not plundered and brutalized Czechoslovakia, razed the village of Lidice and exterminated its inhabitants.

The Federal Chancellor described his participation in the Sudeten Germans' rally as a "self-evident right." No Chancellor before him exercised this "right," however. Even Helmut Kohl's mentors—Konrad Adenauer and Ludwig Erhard—stopped short of ostentatiously fraternizing with those whose claims go beyond even the 1937 borders. Helmut Kohl has proved less fastidious.

A. TOLPEGIN

Our Own Correspondent

Bonn

F.R.G.

KINDRED SPIRITS

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the F.R.G. has made a regular practice of addressing rallies of revanchist communities. In his own words, he has a "special attachment" to them. This time Kohl honoured with his presence the 37th congress of the Sudeten German Refugees Association.

Speaking last week in Munich, which hosted the rally, the Chancellor described accusing the Sudeten Germans of revanchism as "grotesque." Why? After all, the statute of the community defines its objective in no uncertain terms: "To regain the exercise of our right to our homeland, and have it returned to us." By "homeland" they mean a border region of Czechoslovakia, the so-called Sudetenland torn from that country in 1938 as a result of the shameful Munich collusion between the nazis and the Western powers. Far from repulsing these impudent claims, the Chancellor indirectly supported them by talking about the Sudeten Germans belonging to their "old country."

Surely, such discourses do not square with Kohl's own assurances to the effect that relations between the F.R.G.

and Czechoslovakia are based on the Prague treaty. Signed in 1973, the treaty declared the Munich agreement null and void, confirmed the inviolability of the borders and the mutual pledge of the parties concerned "to respect the territorial integrity of both states in every way." As a result, the Sudeten issue was closed. The leaders of the community were determined to foil the Prague treaty. Failing to do so, they have dismissed it as an "interim agreement."

The Federal Chancellor bemoaned "the sorry plight" of the Sudeten Germans. "Expatriation," he said, "has been and remains a violation of human rights." But doesn't Helmut Kohl know that the resettlement of Czechoslovakia's German population was carried out in accordance with the Potsdam agreement signed by the leaders of the three anti-Hitler coalition powers—the Soviet Union, the U.S. and Britain? Doesn't he know why the decision to do so was adopted? In that case we shall remind the Chancellor of the Sudeten nazis, members of the so-called Sudeten-German Party headed by Henlein, the local fuehrer. Henlein's followers, the fifth column of German nazism, provoked and stirred up conflicts with the Czech population and thus set the scene for the annexation of Sudetenland. They terrorized the Czech population and met-

Representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (G.D.R.) and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (F.R.G.) met in Prague to discuss the creation in Central Europe of a zone free from chemical weapons

Make a Beginning with Europe

First, a brief excursion into recent history. As far back as 1925 the Geneva Protocol outlawed the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons. It has been signed to date by 103 countries. The U.S.S.R. was one of the first to affix its signature, the United States did so 50 years later. Why is this question again in the focus of attention? For one thing because the Protocol did not ban the development, production, accumulation and storage of such weapons or the means of their delivery. Yet colossal arsenals of chemical and bacteriological weapons have been built up. In the U.S. alone there are 150,000 tons (more than three million units) of the means of chemical warfare and more than 55,000 tons of super-toxic nerve gas.

In 1969 the U.S.S.R. and its allies proposed to the West to sign a convention on the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons and on their removal from arsenals. But agreement was reached only on banning bacteriological weapons. The "silent killers" were not done away with.

In 1972 the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries submitted to the Geneva Committee (now Conference) on Disarmament a draft of a relevant convention. At first some progress was made. In 1976 the Russians and the Americans sat down at the negotiating table. But, regrettably, at every new round in the talks Washington, unwilling to reach agreement, toughened its position. In 1980 the talks were broken off.

Since then the question has remained open. Nor has any appreciable progress been made at the Geneva conference. To hasten the final decision on the elimination of the deadly chemical weapons, the representatives of the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia put forward the idea of establishing a zone free from chemical weapons in Central Europe, while the representatives of Bulgaria and Romania proposed doing the same in the Balkans.

In 1984 representatives of two parties — the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (G.D.R.) and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (F.R.G.) drafted an agreement on the establishment of a zone free from chemical weapons in Europe. To start with, the zone could

take in the countries of that part of Central Europe generally regarded as the sphere of the Vienna negotiations. On the one hand, it includes the territories of the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia (the Communist Party of that country responded positively to the initiative), and on the other hand, the territory of the F.R.G. Subsequently, the zone could be extended, with the approval of course of the governments of the neighbouring countries concerned.

The countries which agreed to join the zone would undertake the commitment to do away with chemical weapons and not to allow them to appear on their territory in future, not to manufacture or acquire them or permit other states to deploy them on their own territory, produce or transship them to other countries.

Such a partial regional solution would obviously contribute to the success of talks on banning all types of chemical weapons on a global scale.

For this prospect to become a reality, the governments of Czechoslovakia and the G.D.R. submitted a proposal to this effect to F.R.G. Chancellor Helmut Kohl. But no positive reaction came from Bonn. A similar position was adopted by Washington, which, on the contrary, is planning to increase its appropriations for the modernization of chemical weapons and to deploy them on the territories of its West European allies. According to the doctrine adhered to by the U.S. generals, possession of these weapons "makes sense" militarily only if they are located in the vicinity of the prospective main line of hostilities. And the U.S. strategists make no secret of the fact that in their plans this line runs through the F.R.G.'s frontiers with the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia.

Quite recently a decision in principle (true, with reservations) was taken by the NATO Military Planning Committee in Brussels on the production and deployment of the new binary weapon. And at a meeting in Halifax (Canada) the foreign ministers of the alliance are to sanction the launching of the production by the U.S. of this most lethal mass annihilation weapon.

It was stressed at the meeting in

Prague that this will mean one more dangerous spiral in the buildup of chemical weapons which is fraught with an unprecedented threat to the world.

Speaking of the results of the Prague meeting, Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC, said that its participants had been unanimous that today as never before it is imperative to prevent the further buildup of chemical arsenals, the production and deployment of binary shells in Western Europe.

And the consequences of the disaster can be incalculable. Chemical means of warfare, Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG, stress-



American chemical weapons are stored in this building in Fischbach (F.R.G.).

Photo from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

ed, is one of the cruellest and most treacherous of weapons. Now that Western Europe has already been turned into a launching site for Pershings and cruise missiles, the overseas "chemists" are out to convert our continent into a sort of binary gas chamber. What the nazis did in the gas chambers of concentration camps is now being designed for the peoples of the whole of Europe.

Bundestag deputy Egon Bahr, member of the Board and Presidium of the SPD, is also worried about the present situation. The threat of an accumulation of chemical weapons in Europe has greatly increased, he says. The largest opposition party in the F.R.G., therefore, believes it necessary to support the initiative for the establishment in Europe of a zone free from such weapons. The proposal is equally acceptable for the East and for the West, inasmuch as it does not jeopardize the security of either side.

The Prague meeting appealed to neighbouring countries—Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Poland and Hungary—to join in the initiative.

Y. TRAVNICEK
Editor-in-Chief of Nova Doba
L. YELISEYEV
Our Special Correspondent

Prague

Week of Action and Hope

Massive anti-war manifestations took place in many cities and villages of the Soviet Union. The public in Western Europe and in other countries also demanded an end to the arms race.

"Will you take me to the war, granddad?" I heard a tot ask an elderly man in a faded army tunic sitting next to him on a park bench.

"Oh no, sonny, we won't let that happen."

Nikolai Vasilyev had come to Moscow from Ryazan for a reunion with his wartime companions, and brought his six-year-old grandson Alyosha along for the first time. "I was called up for active service in 1942, and fought my way almost to Berlin. I went through a lot. The war years are impossible to forget. My grandson will go to school in a few months' time, and his first lesson will be a lesson in peace. I want him to know that the past must not be repeated, and that every effort must be made for a peaceful future."

On May 9, crowds of Muscovites of all ages, dressed in their Sunday best, streamed into Gorky Park. Bemedalled war veterans stood out among them. They were looking forward to seeing their surviving comrades-in-arms again. As for the young people, they came to meet those who had saved the world from nazism.

It was not just the memory of the last war, however, that brought so many people to the attractive park. A huge meeting was being held there as part of the Week of Action against war, for European security and cooperation.

Originating in May 1975, when progressive and peace-loving forces celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of victory over nazism, the Week of Action united millions of European peace fighters and became a traditional event. A few years later, in 1979, demonstrators demanded at their mass rallies that states participating in the Helsinki Conference should sign agreements that none of them would be first to use nuclear or conventional weapons. In May 1982 there was a wave of meetings and demonstrations from the Moskva River to the Rhine and from the Thames to the Mediterranean under the slogans "Peace in Europe!", "Cruise and Pershing 2 Missiles Out of Europe!" Last year the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory over fascism was celebrated as a triumph of the ideas of peace. In our country alone last year 93 million people demonstrated against war.



In 1986, proclaimed a Year of Peace by the United Nations, the Week of Action was held from May 8 to 15. In fact it started earlier than that. A rally of work teams devoted to opposing the threat of nuclear war was held in Gorky as early as May 6. In the town of Volzhsky 15,000 people gathered for a meeting under the slogan "From the Year of Peace to a Century of Peace."

Almost every day of the Week saw thousands of anti-war activities: huge demonstrations and meetings in Kiev and Frunze, a youth peace march in Zhdanov, a peace march to Mt. Sapun in Sevastopol, the Makeyevka metal-makers' Peace Shift, a torchlight procession to Mt. Mithridates in Kerch. . .

"The war came as a nightmare to me," S.S. Antonova, a machine operator at the Krasny Perekop Textile Mills, told a meeting in Yaroslavl. "My parents were tortured to death by the nazis, and I hardly remember them. Motherland took loving care of me, gave me an education and interesting work. My work collective elected me as its delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress, which reaffirmed the Soviet people's readiness to save mankind from a thermonuclear catastrophe at all costs."

Instructors at the Samarkand Teacher Training Institute contributed their salaries for one day to the Soviet Peace Fund. An anti-war meeting, held there,

was addressed in Uzbek, Tajik and Russian. "All decent people voice their protest against the monstrous 'star wars' plans and the deployment of new arsenals of deadly weapons on the European continent," said Professor A. Y. Mirzabayev. "We believe that the forces of peace will prevent the political maniacs' delirious ideas from being carried out."

In Narva, where the Motor Run for Peace ended, those who took part were greeted with music and flowers. Driving trucks and cars from the time of the Great Patriotic War, Estonian motorists toured the battlefields of forty-odd years ago in Northern Estonia.

The beginning of May witnessed massive anti-war demonstrations practically throughout the continent. 150,000 Spaniards held a peace march from Madrid to Torrejon where a U.S. military base is stationed. Thousands demonstrated in West Berlin, Finland, Austria and France. A ten-day action for peace in Athens and other Greek cities was marked by marches, rallies and meetings. Anti-war demonstrations were not confined to Western Europe. Fair-minded people came out in protest against the danger of nuclear war in the U.S., Australia, New Zealand and other countries.

V. GALIN

An anti-war demonstration in the Netherlands.
TASS photo

Help Them to Understand

OPEN LETTER TO FRENCH WAR VETERANS

To the Editors of New Times
On more than one occasion your journal has carried articles and news dispatches about malicious attacks on the U.S.S.R. by the mass media of many capitalist countries. We were particularly disgusted by the truly outrageous lies about the "sufferings" of Soviet World War II veterans fed to the French people by the Antenne 2 TV company. In this connection we, a group of veterans of the Great Patriotic War, ask you to publish the following letter to the French veterans of the war against fascism:

Esteemed war veterans, fellow fighters in the joint struggle against the fascist invaders.

We appeal to you as representatives of the French people who know by their own experience what war means and who have retained their commonsense approach to this inhuman phenomenon. We are convinced that people seared by the flames of battle react most sensitively to all that is associated with the problems of war and peace.

The recent attempt by Antenne 2 to slander people of the older Soviet generation who fought in the war against fascism was a downright misrepresentation of the position of war veterans in the U.S.S.R. We do not propose to argue with the authors of this poisonous concoction.

We appeal to you, our comrades-in-arms in the fight against fascism, to help your countrymen, and above all the youth, to keep an open mind and take a sober view on the history of our relations.

The years pass and fewer and fewer remain of those who bore the

terrible burden of World War II on their own shoulders. A new generation is rising to take their place, the youth, the children. All of them fortunately know of that war only from the accounts of their elders, from books and films. They want to know the truth and they have every right to know the truth about the war, about those who took part in it, about their life in the postwar years. All the greater then is the responsibility that devolves upon those of us who have survived. Who, if not we and you are in duty bound to help them to learn the truth. The incendiaries of a new war are capable of anything. Nothing is sacred for them. Therefore we cannot and must not remain mere observers of what is happening.

The French youth will doubtless be interested to learn from us some of the details of our life, the life of the veterans of the Great Patriotic War. The men and women who

fought in that war are highly respected members of Soviet society. Apart from their constitutional rights, war veterans and the families of the war dead enjoy privileges and advantages as regards social security, medical care, housing and rent, and a great many other things.

Irrespective of age and state of health, war veterans take an active part in public life. In our opinion, one of their prime duties is to meet with the youth, including school-children. For the future belongs to them and we have a stake in that future. We are fighting for peace, for the prevention of a new world war.

In this struggle we and you, dear French World War II veterans, have common goals.

The text of this letter was discussed and unanimously approved at a meeting of veterans of the Great Patriotic War of our neighbourhood in Kirov District, Moscow.

War veterans
V. T. Semyonov
M. S. Sorokin
D. E. Rumyantsev
H. H. Feodosyeva
A. A. Smirnov,
and 54 others.

"People Are Grateful to Me"

I am just an ordinary loyal citizen of the United States, a capitalist, as a matter of fact. But at the same time I consider myself a citizen of the same planet as you Soviet people. I want peace for our children, peace for all the children on earth. I believe in the possibility of peaceful coexistence.

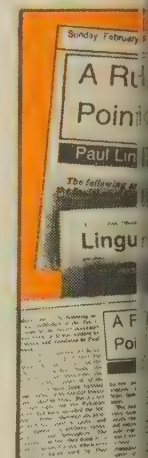
I learned Russian more than 25 years ago at a military school. After that I served as an interpreter in the American army. In 1962, when my three-year term of army service

ended, I went to work in a bank, and at the same time I continued my studies and graduated from college.

Here in Southern California it is practically impossible to find any Russian newspapers, magazines, books, etc. And there are no radio or TV programmes in Russian. I can't even buy a radio set on which I could hear programmes from the U.S.S.R. And so gradually I almost forgot your language. Three years ago I decided to study Russian again because I wanted to know the opin-

ion of the
pressed in
ple.

For six m
reading yo
some diffic
presents inf



Last summer
about the m
chev and R
Americans v
some agree
between th
wanted you
known to my
could better
and action
Since the o
paper is a
to translate
press for its
He agreed,
been doing
and I get m
knowledge t

Frie

The
of the
to ma
drowned in
countries for
progress wo
and powerfu
independent
with the ai
domination.
flow of exp
hungry and
exactly mat
expenditure
is no mere

The Easter
with cold-bl
any qualms
Western lea

ment ex-
of its peo-
have been
true, with
ideas it
and varied.

small share to improving international mutual understanding. I meet people nearly every day who thank me for this and ask me to continue translating for them.

Your friend and reader
PAUL LINOWSKI

We received this letter from Carlsbad, a small town in Southern California. It is written in Russian and we give a translation of it here in full. Enclosed in the envelope were several articles from the Russian edition of New Times translated by Mr Linowski and published in the local newspaper The Blade Tribune. A piece about the translator was also enclosed.

Mr Linowski spends a couple of hours every evening and about eight hours on Saturdays and Sundays reading Russian magazine articles some of which he translates for the Sunday edition of The Blade Tribune. His wife calls it an obsession.

"Let anyone questions his motivation," the article about him concludes, "Linowski flatly told a reporter: 'I'm an American, a Republican and a capitalist.'"

To this the editors of New Times would like to add that it is gratifying to know that there are some Americans, Republicans and capitalists, who realize the importance of achieving mutual understanding and who contribute their share to this worthwhile cause. We kindly ask Mrs Linowski to treat her husband's commendable "obsession" with understanding.

and Foes

the countries
dernize and
have been
imperialist
why? Because
them strong
to take
in conflict
alist world
so stop the
from the
tions, which
annual arms
ft. And this
ere subdued
ism without
ence. The
international

conferences, wine and dined and carved up the non-Western world and then, before the ink was dry on the dishonourable agreements, began to stab each other in the back and quarrelled over the spoils of the loot. But they always agreed that Asia must be conquered. Tipu Sultan, leading the last stronghold of resistance to the imperialist conquest of India, made frantic efforts to seek assistance from the West. But none helped him. And the same fate met the several emissaries of the original Americans who for quite some time put up strong resistance to the Western onslaught with inadequate weapons. But that was before the October Revolution. Imperialist

invasions now meet with a fitting rebuff.

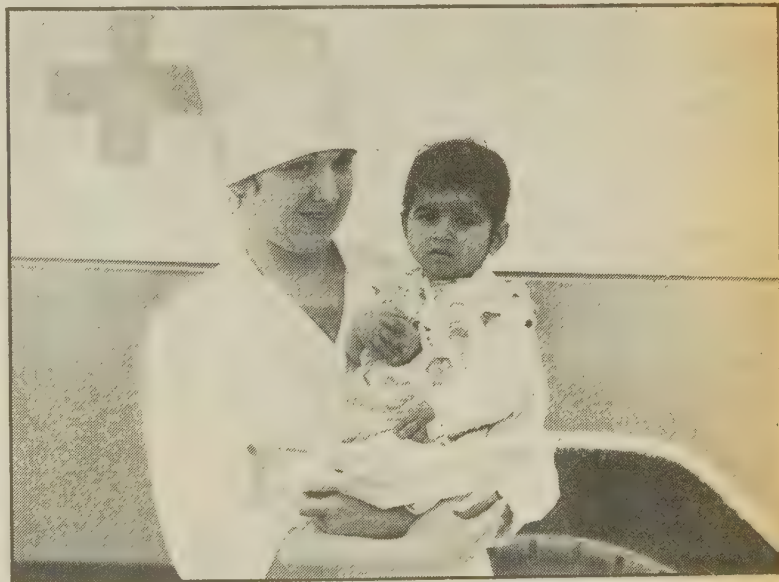
Afghanistan knows about invasions. British armed forces invaded it in 1838-42 and in 1878. The reforming king Amanullah was threatened by imperialism in 1919. Soviet Russia was desperately struggling for its very survival with imperialist-aided counterrevolutionaries—not far from Moscow—desperate to grab the prize of one million pounds promised to the first regiment which entered the Kremlin. Even at this critical hour Lenin did not let down Kabul's call for help. Afghanistan was given financial and material aid.

Amanullah was finally overthrown by the Western intrigues. The country was ruled from 1929 to 1978 by kings not known for their reforming zeal, yet the U.S.S.R. helped it generously. A cotton processing factory, power station, communica-

the Daily Telegraph, Observer, Economist, Times, Figaro, Le Point, Libération, Washington Post, New York Times, Christian Science Monitor and France-Presse clearly indicated that the West, above all the U.S., was involved in organizing an undeclared war against the progressive government of Afghanistan. And this was long before Soviet troops responded to Kabul's cry for help. Why does the U.S.S.R. help Afghanistan, Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Libya, Syria, the Palestinians, Angola, India, Ethiopia, and many other newly free countries? Because the land of Soviets will never betray Lenin's behest of helping the oppressed nations of the East.

A. KHAN NIXON
Rossendale, England

P.S. The above letter is a bit long but please publish it in full as it is important for the readers in South Asia to fully understand the histori-



tions networks, and several agricultural institutions were set up in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1956 Moscow gave a \$100 million credit at 2 per cent interest repayable over 30 years, first payment to begin after 8 years. And with this money were built dozens of large industrial plants, irrigation works and geological prospecting, a river port, and oil depots.

An incomplete survey of the Western press for 1979 showed that 22 correspondents in Pakistan of

This 18-month-old Afghan child is another victim of the crimes of the counterrevolutionaries. A mine they planted in the town of Kunduz killed her mother and injured little Kamilla. Soviet doctors are doing all they can to alleviate her sufferings. The picture was sent us by our reader Valery Kosov, who is performing his internationalist duty in Afghanistan.

cal and political significance of what is happening in Afghanistan today. I am originally from India and emigrated to Britain a quarter of a century ago.

BREEDING LOCAL CONFLICTS

Continued from p. 2

Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State in the fifties. In conditions of the confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, his theory goes, any country that wins independence and, consequently, gets out of Washington's control, forms a "vacuum" that must be refilled with the influence of the United States.

Since Dulles, all American administrations have acted on this theory to varying degrees. Recently it has found reflection in the doctrines of neoglobalism and "low-intensity conflicts." These doctrines allow the U.S. to organize, arm and inspire external and internal forces opposed to the governments of countries which have taken a line independent of U.S. imperialism, and buttress shaky pro-American regimes. The U.S. has usurped the right to use any method—force included—to prevent the development of situations unfavourable to the U.S. in various parts of the world, and to create favourable ones. The American raid on Libya is the latest case in point. It was discussed, in particular, at the U.N. regional conference on disarmament sponsored by the Soviet Peace Committee which has just ended in Tbilisi. The conference was attended by delegations from many countries and international organizations.

Washington clearly covets the role of arbiter of the world's destinies. It ignores objective, social, political and economic processes in the modern world, the root causes of which have nothing to do with the confrontation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. Adherents of the neo-imperialist approach are not disposed to abandon a distorted notion of the de-

velopment of international relations. To quote the political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "the armed force that the U.S. is counting on to maintain the status quo, to safeguard the interests of the monopolies and the military-industrial complex, and to prevent any further progressive change in the newly free countries, can

only complicate the situation and precipitate new conflicts."

icy with regard to Afghanistan: Washington trains counterrevolutionaries, supplies them with arms, carries out secret operations in the country through CIA channels, and arms Pakistan which is actively anti-Afghan.

The action being taken against the people's regime in Kampuchea fits into the same pattern. The United States, which likes to pose as

international arena aggravates regional conflicts and hinders their peaceful and just settlement.

As for the Soviet Union, it opposes to the American approach a constructive policy of settling regional international conflicts in the interests of all the peoples inhabiting the region in question.

Most current international regional conflicts can be classified as follows according to the possible means of settlement.

First, the Middle East conflict. It can obviously be settled only by the joint efforts of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. within the framework of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, and attended by all interested parties as well as by the only lawful representative of the Palestinian people—the Palestine Liberation Organization. If properly prepared for, such a conference could indeed be an effective step in the direction of a multilateral, comprehensive settlement in the Middle East for the benefit of all its peoples. The U.S. concentrates on individual aspects of the conflict and ignores the possibility of convening such a conference, which would offer the only chance of a "package solution" to all the problems involved in establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The conflicts around Afghanistan and Kampuchea, on the Korean peninsula and between India and Pakistan fall into a different category. In each case durable settlement is possible given an end to active support for the forces that are destabilizing the situation. With regard to Afghanistan, for instance, the Soviet position is well known: in the event of a guaranteed end to external interference in Afghan affairs, the Soviet

We are in favour of vitalizing collective quests for ways of defusing conflict situations in the Middle East, Central America, southern Africa, in all of the planet's turbulent points. This is imperatively demanded by the interests of general security.

(From the political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress)

only complicate the situation and precipitate new conflicts."

It is this that creates, and artificially maintains, the hot spots that jeopardize world peace. Take, for instance, the United States' attempts to topple the popular Sandinist regime and stifle the revolution in Nicaragua. The U.S. not only keeps the heroic republic in a state of tension with its constant threats, but supports, organizes and arms the Nicaraguan contras, supplies weapons to neighbouring Honduras and conducts joint military exercises with it to bring pressure to bear on the Sandinists, in short, does its utmost to deprive the Nicaraguans of their right to manage their own affairs.

The same goes for U.S. pol-

a champion of human rights, supports Pol Pot's gangs—the very forces that while in power committed horrible acts of genocide in Kampuchea, exterminating millions of people. This support takes various forms: arms supplies, increasing the military potential of neighbouring Thailand where Pol Pot gangs have found refuge, and retaining representatives of the so-called "democratic Kampuchea" (the already nonexistent Pol Pot regime) in international organizations.

At the same time, the anti-popular regime in El Salvador and the military dictatorship in Chile remain in power due solely to U.S. assistance and support.

The policy pursued by the United States in the in-

pop contingent will be withdrawn from that country. The Afghan and Pakistani governments entered into contact on the issue in Geneva through the good offices of the U.N. Secretary-General, but have not so far made real progress because of U.S. pressure on Pakistan. In various forms—including arms supplies and promises of further economic aid—this pressure has been exerted every time the dialogue promised to bear fruit.

The situation around Kampuchea could be formalized if external interference in its internal affairs were discontinued and Thailand stopped allowing its territory to be used for the regrouping and training of forces hostile to Kampuchea.

As for the Korean peninsula, the D.P.R.K. government recently suggested a formula for a tripartite conference between the D.P.R.K., South Korea and the United States. However, the U.S.—which earlier seemed to favour the idea—has effectively rejected the formula and started building up its armed forces in South Korea. Under the circumstances, it would be unrealistic to expect any progress to be made towards the solution of the Korean problem and, consequently, the relaxation of tension on the Korean peninsula. If a settlement is to be achieved at all, outside interference must cease, and the most favourable conditions must be provided for an agreement between the two Korean states.

American arms supplies to the Zia ul-Haq regime in Pakistan only serve to pour oil on the flame of the Indo-Pakistani conflict, and this interferes with the strengthening of the shoots of a settlement that burgeoned with

great difficulty some years ago. Receiving disproportionate quantities of modern weaponry from the U.S., Pakistan is toughening its position on the territorial question and trying to play on the separatist feelings of certain ethnic groups in Indian states lying on its borders.

The Iraq-Iran conflict, which continues to rage as a result of the stance taken by Iran, is in a class by itself. The United States' actions are not conducive to ending this war, to put it mildly. Iran gets its weapons from the "free arms market" on which American, West European and Israeli death merchants are active. The United States is interested in continued Iraq-Iran hostilities for several reasons. First, American politicians are of the opinion that the Gulf war is weaken-

ing the Arab countries' potential to resist Israeli expansionism. Second, the war has revived U.S. hopes of restoring its influence in both belligerent states. Third, the war provides a pretext for building up an American military presence in the region.

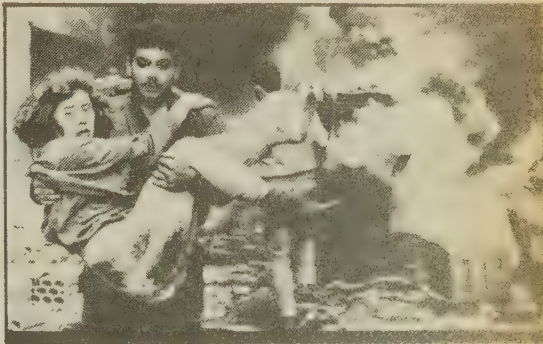
The practice of "linking" various problems and tendencies in international life, which originated in the mid-seventies, also has a destabilizing effect on the international situation. Speculating, in particular, on the Soviet Union's desire to curb the arms race and make the process of détente irreversible, the United States is trying to induce the U.S.S.R. to renounce the positions that prevent world developments from following the American scenario. After the reac-

tionaries had suffered a defeat in Angola, for instance, Washington cut short the American-Soviet talks on restricting military activity in the Indian Ocean. This linking of various complex problems in the interests of the U.S. only serves to hinder their solution. Tackling these problems separately, without any linkages, would gradually build confidence and, consequently, facilitate the settlement of the remaining issues.

Bringing out the objective causes of regional conflicts is essential to the success of the two powers' joint or parallel actions towards achieving settlements. A mutual Soviet-American desire to achieve such settlements, and concrete measures to this end, are among the surest prerequisites for the amelioration of the international climate.



**Supporting
the Nicaraguan contras**



**Stoking up the Middle
East conflict**



The Slippery Steps of Neoglobalism

It is only about six months since the U.S. press began talking about neoglobalism, but already there is no doubt that the policy pivoted on the doctrine has found itself in an impasse. And a dangerous impasse at that.

First of all, the military tactics have proved to be of little effect.

On what do these tactics hinge? Among other things on the assumption that the development of military technology allows Washington to count on being able to realize its imperial ambitions with little loss of life, American life, of course—the cost in terms of other people's blood does not matter. Anyone can do the fighting with American arms and American money—the Nicaraguan contras, the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, and even the Israeli soldiers notwithstanding all the talk about Israel's safety—anyone but the Americans, for the Vietnam syndrome has proved too tenacious to uproot. Washington evidently fears the repetition of Vietnam, for Americans would not forgive, even in an atmosphere of jingoistic hysteria, another Vietnam with its toll of thousands of dead and maimed compatriots. Hence it prefers to penalize recalcitrant countries either through the agency of mercenaries or by aerial bombing, shelling by naval guns, and using the cruise missiles targeted on Libya from Sixth Fleet ships—a kind of hit-and-run warfare allowing for quick withdrawal behind the shelter of the barbed wire of military bases or the armour of aircraft carriers.

But, as the Luftwaffe command in nazi Germany learned in its time, the most massive bombing does not yield victory. It might be said that since then the striking power of bombers

has increased. However, neither are air defences what they used to be. The Americans themselves admit that in Libya they encountered effective anti-aircraft defences, although their objectives there were what the Pentagon calls "fourth-class targets" and residential areas not provided with any special protection. And what about the carrier task forces on which the votaries of neoglobalism pin their main hopes? For years now they have been cruising the seas and oceans. As a rule they are concentrated off the shores of the country chosen as the target at the given moment. Lebanon, Libya, Nicaragua and Grenada are all cases in point. However, the conclusions drawn from all this by American military analysts are indicative. They consider the use of carriers advantageous in some respects. For one thing, they "can minimize the risk of American casualties." For another, the carrier "allows you to use military power flexibly at your own discretion," as distinct from land bases, which, as the New York Times tactfully put it, "do not always remain under American control."

But, in its opinion, another thing is more important: "carriers represent a relatively small amount of military power." They themselves are "vulnerable targets" and "many of the planes they carry must be used to defend the carriers against possible air or sea attack." Moreover, the planes cannot carry a big bomb load and are not equipped with the most precise guidance devices. Consequently, tactics pivoted on carriers are rather psychological terror and intimidation tactics capable of affecting the faint-hearted but not peoples that have fought for their independence for generations. And not because these peoples value life less than the Americans, but because they know from their own experience that the right to life, a life worthy of human beings, has to be upheld in bitter struggle.

Our Managua correspondent reports:

CASES IN POINT



Profiting by the senseless Iran-Iraq bloodshed



Supplying arms to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries

TASS photos and photos from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.) and L'Express (France)

They Shall Not Pass!

Although tension around Nicaragua has already reached high pitch, the Reagan Administration is continuing to escalate it.

At the same time the White House is obstructing the efforts of Latin American countries, specifically the Contadora countries (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama) and the Contadora support group (Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay), to find avenues to the peaceful settlement of the crucial problems of Central America. On May 8 the representatives of these countries issued a joint statement which underscores the imperative need to sign the proposed Act of Peace without delay. Clearly addressing the U.S., although it is not mentioned by name, the eight countries urge "cessation of support to irregular forces operating in

the region" and emphasize the "need strictly to observe the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region." The statement calls for completion of talks relating to the Act of Peace by June 6.

However, on the eve of the projected signing of the Act of Peace Washington has stepped up its unsavoury political intrigues around the mediation aimed at the peaceful settlement of the Central American conflicts. El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica were toured by the U.S. President's envoy Philip Habib, who, while paying lip service to peace in public, behind closed doors pressed for support of subversive actions against Nicaragua.

Some time before that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz declared that even if

the Contadora countries succeeded in getting their Act of Peace signed, the U.S. will render political, economic and military aid to the anti-Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary formations.

What in these circumstances is Nicaragua's attitude to the Contadora document? It was set forth in mid-May by the President of the republic, Daniel Ortega, who said Nicaragua would sign the Act of Peace when the American aggression was terminated and the U.S. ceased to use the counterrevolutionary bands for armed provocations. It was stressed that the draft of the Act should continue to be discussed until these problems were resolved.

But even then the document can be signed only

after the Reagan Administration has undertaken a firm commitment to end its aggression against Nicaragua, Ortega added. Otherwise, what happened in Grenada could be repeated in Nicaragua. "So far Nicaragua," he said, "cannot agree to any reduction of armaments, and all Nicaraguans must be prepared to defend every inch of Nicaraguan territory, their lives and their families."

The Nicaraguans are standing firm in defence of their country. In late March the frontier forces and units of the Sandinist People's Militia dealt heavy blows at Somozist detachments that had invaded the republic from Honduras with a major town as their target. According to the Defence Ministry, during six days of fighting in the Nueva Segovia depart-

ment 115 mercenaries were killed and a large quantity of weapons supplied to the contras by the CIA captured. In the beginning of April another raid by CIA mercenaries met with fiasco. The Somozist cutthroats, who had suffered heavy losses in recent battles, also made a terrorist raid on a school in the environs of Jinotega, but were routed by Nicaraguan fighting men.

The number of such successful operations is growing. In the past three months alone the Sandinist People's Army has put out of action 2,370 counterrevolutionaries. The powerful blows dealt the mercenaries are causing increased confusion in the camp of the contras. News agencies report that in the second half of May, one of the leaders of the contras,

Eden Pastora, the head of the so-called Democratic Revolutionary Alliance which had been operating in the southern frontier areas of Nicaragua, announced that he was ceasing the armed struggle he had been waging for four years against the Sandinist government. Together with Pastora, 70 of his supporters crossed the frontier into Costa Rica, laid down arms and gave themselves up to the local authorities. True, six of the seven leaders of detachments subordinated to Pastora broke with him and refused to surrender.

Pastora said his decision was prompted by the realization that it was senseless to continue the fratricidal war since the Sandinists could not be defeated by armed force.

It may be added that the Nicaraguan contras are losing prestige even among their own supporters. And no wonder, for they are killing peaceful peasants and teachers not in some remote mountain area... It is becoming increasingly clear that the overwhelming majority of Nicaraguans condemn the contras as an alien hostile force—if the word "force" is at all applicable to a band obviously impotent without direct U.S. military support. And that support threatens the U.S. with the prospect of a second Vietnam involving the loss of thousands of GIs.

Is it, then, worthwhile helping the contras? Even the devotees of neoglobalism are asking this. All the more so since the question of priorities is becoming more and more pressing for them—what is to be the next target? Washington just does not have the military and financial resources to tackle the whole globe at once. In these circumstances the professional anti-Sovieters insistently point to the Pakistani-Afghan sector: here is where we can get at Moscow! The Zionist lobby naturally focusses attention on the Middle East. But in these regions too the neoglobalist policy is in an impasse that is no less dangerous than in Latin America.

Indeed, what has the U.S. gained by the undeclared war against Afghanistan? We shall not underrate either the damage caused by this war or the effect it still has on the thinking of a good many people. The half a billion dollars the U.S. alone has allocated for the Afghan counterrevolutionaries only officially and only for this year are yielding some dividends. But the main object has not been achieved. The people's government that emerged from the April revolution has not been undermined. On the contrary, despite the trials it has to face, it is gaining strength, with the help of the Soviet Union and its other friends, true, more slowly than the Afghan leaders would wish, but nevertheless surely. Which cannot be said of the Pakistani military regime on which Washington relies in this war.

Recall how confident Zia ul-Haq felt six years ago when he casually rejected as a "handout" Washington's offer of relatively modest military and economic aid and insisted on a \$3 billion allocation for this purpose. Now the figure has gone up to \$4 billion, but his confidence has gone. And it could hardly be otherwise, considering that after he had taken the Afghan counterrevolutionaries under his wing at U.S. bidding they set up in the frontier provinces a state within a state, terrorizing the local population. Clashes between the Pakistani troops and the proud Pashtun tribes who want no part in anti-Afghan adventures continue, now abating now flaring up again. In the cities a democratic opposition movement is rapidly gaining momentum. A new impulse to this movement was given by the return to Pakistan of Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of

the executed premier. And it is not by chance that some press commentators publicly advise the head of the Pakistani regime to think of what happened to the Shah of Iran, President Marcos of the Philippines, and some other pro-American leaders in developing countries to whom Washington denied its support at critical moments. Or simply left them in the lurch.

But let us not anticipate. The picture that emerges is this: the U.S. is rocking the Pakistani regime by involving it ever more deeply in the anti-Afghan aggression. How to compensate for the weakening of so important an ally? Washington found its own solution to this problem: by attempts to undermine the stability of another neighbour of Pakistan—India, which, like Afghanistan, is also friendly to the Soviet Union. Truly a neoglobalist compensation! For India is one of the biggest developing countries and leader of the non-aligned movement. The fate of the entire Third World depends in large measure on what happens to India. What has been the reaction in that country to these attempts?

Here is a dispatch from
our Delhi correspondent:

Firm Stand

A prominent Indian press commentator visualizes the following hypothetical situation. An Indian naval task force takes up stations off the coast of the U.S. under cover of night and at daybreak the inhabitants of the American state of Alabama are roused from sleep by the screeching of missiles and the crash of explosions. Precision fire levels a camp for the training of Sikh and other terrorists run by the notorious Frank Camper. A missile hits his bunker and puts an end

to his cooperation with the CIA and the FBI in training hired killers for infiltration into India.

Going by the neoglobalist logic of Washington, which "in self-defence" and in search of mythical "terrorist centres" dropped tons of high explosives on Tripoli and Benghazi, India, the press commentator says, would be entitled to take "preventive action" against Frank Camper's Alabama camp whose Sikh trainees are engaged in anti-Indian activ-



Demonstration in Delhi in protest against the U.S. attack on Libya.

AP-TASS photo

ities both on the international arena and in the Indian state of Punjab. But such "logic," the commentator concluded, is revolting to all civilized people, especially in our nuclear age.

The call issued by Moscow for a new mode of thinking is finding a wide response in Indian political circles and among the general public,

and that response is assuming greater dimensions with the escalation of neoglobalism by the United States.

Indians know what neoglobalism means from their own experience. For instance, the United States' U.N. Ambassador Vernon Walters in effect threatened India when that country's Minister of External

India is giving a resolute rebuff to such machinations. And this is not surprising. What has been a surprise for Washington is that tiny Grenada, where neoglobalism was first tested long before the word itself had been coined, is not giving in. What has the Grenada experiment shown? One might have thought it would not be such a drain on the U.S. Treasury to turn that tropical island, which can be crossed by car in one hour, into a flowering garden to be held up as a shining example of the American way of doing things. But nothing of the kind has happened. Real work is going on only at the airport which is clearly being adapted for use as a military base—exactly what the island's progressive government was falsely accused of doing. As for the economic and social programmes of that government, they were simply wound up. As a result, even according to official figures the unemployment level has soared to 30 per cent of the labour force, and actually nearly half of the population is unable to find work. There is growing ferment in the country, though so far in the form of passive protest. But Washington is reacting to it in its customary manner. According to an American television report, U.S. troops are being landed from helicopters in mountain areas and are combing the jungle for guerrillas, all of which is reminiscent of October 1983. The Reagan Administration, the report said, wants the present exercises to serve as a warning to left political leaders in the Caribbean countries.

This is the crux of the matter. The anti-imperialist movement is irresistibly maturing in the developing countries under U.S. control. It is spilling over the bourgeois democratic framework Washington seeks to impose. This is happening today in a wide variety of countries—in the Philippines, in a number of Latin American countries, even in South Korea which has a long way to go before even approaching parliamentary government. What is most important is that the popular wrath is directed not only against local reactionaries, dictators and oppressors. In Pakistan demonstrators have begun burning the American flag. In the Philippines the demand for the dis-

Affairs Bali Ram Bhagat, speaking on behalf of the non-aligned movement, condemned the U.S. aggression against Libya at a meeting of the U.N. Security Council. And on April 29 a group of Sikh separatists in the Golden Temple proclaimed an "independent Khalistan." This challenge to the territorial integrity of India was hurled with the knowledge and consent of the Sikh separatist émigrés in the U.S. whom Washington has taken under its wing. The Indian authorities have resolutely foiled the Golden Temple action.

Local press commentators draw a parallel between the attack on Libya and what happened in Punjab. Apart from everything else, the raid on Libya was designed to provoke a coup in that country. The method chosen for this was state terrorism, the prominent news analyst Professor Hiren Mukerjee observes. Since the U.S. resorted to the same method in Punjab,

the purpose too suggests itself. It is symptomatic that the action in Punjab was timed to coincide with the crisis in the ruling INC (I).

But India is standing firm and is helping other non-aligned countries to do likewise. In mid-May Rajiv Gandhi made an important tour of a number of frontline states in southern Africa, thereby giving active support to their struggle against racism and, consequently, also against its Washington backers.

During his talks with the Angolan leaders Rajiv Gandhi categorically rejected the American "linkage" of the granting of independence to Namibia with the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist contingent from Angola. During his visit to Luanda India opened its embassy there. All this is clear evidence of Delhi's disagreement with the U.S. policy of supporting counter-revolutionary forces everywhere in the world.

mantling of the American bases is gaining ever wider support. Not to speak of South Africa, where the struggle against apartheid is developing into a struggle of the Africans against the forces that sustain apartheid, primarily against U.S. imperialism and hence against its neoglobalist version. In the final analysis, Washington is faced with a choice between recognizing the political realities and unleashing, step by step, military action in the full sense of the term against the majority of mankind—the peoples of the developing countries. Neoglobalism is leading the United States from one regional war to another.

This highlights the danger for Washington's allies of their virtual submission to the American demands at the conference of the Seven in Tokyo. That danger is particularly manifest in the Middle East. Following the futile air aggression against Libya, neoglobalist thinking has focussed on two interrelated planes: further escalation of hostile action against Libya and a strike at Syria, either by the United States or by Israel, or most likely by both. One prominent American Middle East expert believes it is not excluded that escalation of U.S. actions in the region could develop into a full-scale war. President Reagan himself has said on more than one occasion that there could be a flare-up in the Middle East that might lead to a new world war.

Thus, the mounting resistance of the peoples to American neoglobalism is important not only in itself. It is important also as a contribution to the fight for peace.

V. DOLGOV (Managua), L. ZHEGALOV (Delhi),
D. VOLSKY (Moscow)

With Redoubled Energy



Leaning heavily on his stick, a lean, determined-looking man came forward and took his seat on the dais behind the plate bearing his name: Zoubeir Seif el Islam.

I had got to know him in March 1981 in Aden, at the 13th session of the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO). A veteran of the Algerian Resistance, this staunch courageous man shed his blood in the underground struggle against French colonialism. Today he is active in the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, fighting for the freedom and happiness of peoples.

For many years Zoubeir Seif el Islam has been a member of the AAPSO Permanent Secretariat with responsibility for organizational work. He had his hands full during the 14th meeting of the Council in Moscow, with delegations from 86 countries and representatives of a number of international organizations taking part.

After the first press conference I asked Zoubeir in what way the 14th session would differ from the previous one. "It is too early to speak about that," he replied. "A great many changes have taken place in the world since the previous meeting of the council five years ago. The international situation has become extremely complex. All this is bound to influence the deliberations at the Moscow forum. But I am sure the meeting will assess the current situation correctly."

I recalled these words the next day while listening to the speeches of the delegates who had gathered in the festively decorated Hall of Columns of the House of Trade Unions. The national flags of the countries represented at the meeting had been put up in front of the long table on the dais, among them those of African, Asian, Latin American and European countries, as well as that of the United States. The meeting was attended by Jeanne Woods of the U.S. National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation.

The session was opened by the well-known Egyptian writer and AAPSO president Abdel Rahman el Sharkawi. Delegates listened with great interest and attention to CPSU Central Committee secretary Anatoly Dobrynin, who conveyed cordial greetings from CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev wishing them success in their noble work.

"The task of strengthening national independence and bringing about socioeconomic rebirth, eliminating the vestiges of colonialism and racism, abolishing neocolonialism and hotbeds of military conflict in Asia and Africa, and of course the question of international security are today in the focus of attention of the solidarity movement and the national organizations within it," Anatoly Dobrynin said. "The time we live in has linked all these burning issues together in one tight knot and made their solution dependent on the achievement of the one paramount task, that of removing the threat of nuclear catastrophe and ensuring a durable and guaranteed peace."

During an interval I found Zoubeir Seif el Islam in the lobby. Dobrynin's speech had made a strong impression on him, as on other delegates.

"What a vigorous start!" he exclaimed. "The Soviet representative spoke of the chief problems that trouble mankind today. Isn't it an inspiring beginning?"

The general mood of the first day of the session can be summed up in the words "inspiration" and "enthusiasm." This mood became more pronounced in the evening of the same day after Mikhail Gorbachev's TV address.

Next day comments on the Gorbachev address were to be heard during the session, in delegates' conversations in the lobby, and in the interviews they gave reporters. Their feelings found expression in the telegram they sent to Mikhail Gorbachev on the same day. "It was with great attention and deep satisfaction that we, representatives of 86 countries from all continents and 34 international organizations, heard your May 14 address on Soviet television,"

the telegram says. "The issues you touched on concerned not only the accident at Chernobyl atomic power plant and the ensuing events. You also raised fundamental problems about ensuring the nuclear safety of all mankind and reminded the world community to what extent the task of ending nuclear tests and the arms race, and completely eliminating weapons of mass destruction is urgent and important."

The telegram was an important political action on the part of the 14th Council session, expressing as it did the wishes of people the world over and their deep appreciation of the Soviet Union's latest peace initiatives. At the same time delegates called on the U.S. Administration to take a responsible attitude and give the new Soviet initiatives the serious consideration

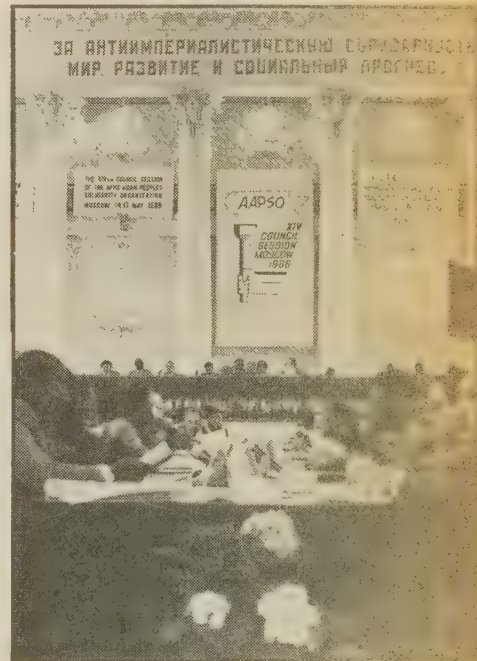


Photo by V. Panov

they deserve. The last few lines of the telegram sounded like a vow: "Together with other mass democratic anti-war movements we shall redouble our efforts to contribute to ensuring lasting peace and international security."

Virtually every delegate I talked to during the session spoke highly of the Soviet peace initiatives and noted their importance for all nations. At the same time I heard angry criticism of the U.S. Administration.

"The United States is now relying on state terrorism," said Ramadan el Madani, a Tripoli university professor, who saw innocent people die as a result of the American bombs in the Libyan

capital. "U.S. terrorism is expressed in various forms. Washington's refusal to halt nuclear testing and accept the Gorbachev proposal for removing the American and Soviet fleets from the Mediterranean is, essentially, terrorism too. It may be recalled that the U.S. Sixth Fleet backed up the Zionist aggression against the people of Lebanon, and recently it attacked our country on Reagan's orders. Does it not serve the policy of neoglobalism and is it not an instrument of U.S. state terrorism? Is it possible in view of all this for the Mediterranean nations not to support the Soviet Union's peace initiatives?"

"We are returning home with fresh vigour, with a new charge of energy from the Moscow session of the AAPSO Council," Wahab Goodluck, head of the delegation from the All-Nigeria Peace and Solidarity Organization and a prominent public figure and trade unionist

of Nigeria, told me on the last day of the session. "When we get home we shall step up the campaign in support of the Soviet peace initiatives, for their implementation will help resolve the cardinal political, economic and social problems facing many millions of Nigerians and other peoples of the world. The Moscow session of the AAPSO Council has undoubtedly given a powerful new impetus to the promotion of international solidarity in the struggle for peace and disarmament, for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war and for a new economic order, and against the imperialist policy of neoglobalism and state terrorism, and the odious system of apartheid and neocolonialism."

The delegates' speeches, the deliberations at the session as a whole, and the documents adopted by it—the Appeal to the Peoples of Asia and Africa,

to the Democratic Public of the World, the General Declaration, a number of resolutions on the situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and a special resolution on disarmament and development—were permeated with deep understanding and active support of the Soviet foreign policy initiatives for peace.

"It is our sacred duty to put an insurmountable obstacle in the way to nuclear war, to save life and civilization on earth," says the Appeal.

The session of the AAPSO Council, which adopted a vigorous programme of action, is a major step towards the fulfilment of this duty, Mirza Ibraghimov, distinguished writer and chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, said in his concluding remarks.

E. KORSHUNOV

INTERVIEWS

Our reporter Dmitry Zgersky interviewed **NOURI ABDEL RAZZAK**, Secretary General of AAPSO, after the Council session ended.

Fight for Peace and Disarmament: The No. 1 Priority

Q. — Comrade Nouri Abdel Razzak, why has Moscow been chosen as the venue for the 14th session of the AAPSO Council?

A. — The first reason is that the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee is one of AAPSO's oldest and most authoritative national committees. The Soviet side, with its usual hospitality, welcomed the idea of holding the session here in Moscow. But what decided the choice of venue was, more than anything, the positive attitude of Council members to the U.S.S.R.'s peace initiatives.

Q. — I understand that the session concentrated on the problems of international security!

A. — That's correct. Nowadays there can be no genuine development without peace, security and disarmament. And without genuine development there can be no genuine independence. The obvious conclusion is that the struggle

for peace and disarmament is the No. 1 priority today. If this international effort is crowned with success, the remaining problems will be easier to solve.

Q. — What does AAPSO regard as the main obstacle to this coveted objective?

A. — The consensus at the session was that the stand taken by imperialist circles headed by the United States is the chief barrier to peace. This is not merely a question of Washington and its allies not wishing to accept Moscow's reasonable and constructive proposals. The problem is that the U.S. is working in the opposite direction, i.e., toughening its militaristic line. Judge for yourself. Until recently the United States used its allies and puppets to carry out its aggressive plans on its behalf. And now the White House has decided to act on its own. The interception of an Egyptian airliner by American fighter

planes was followed by the direct American attack on Libya. Now the U.S. is openly supporting the UNITA bands operating in Angola and the Nicaraguan contras.

The U.S.S.R. is suggesting ways of ensuring the security of the Asian-Pacific region. In the meantime, the Tokyo summit, held under the auspices of the United States, adopted decisions which amount to the escalation of antagonism and which emphasize armed force and aggression. And this against the background of the continued U.S. nuclear arms buildup in the Indian and Pacific oceans.

The U.S.S.R. is extending its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and calling on the U.S. to follow this example which involves neither expense nor effort. All it is asked to do is to refrain from conducting nuclear tests. In response, the U.S. has carried out a series of nuclear tests in Nevada.

Such examples abound. War threatens all of us. That is the problem our session concentrated on.

Q. — How do you assess the results of the session?

A. — It was a success. Although it cannot compare with an event like an AAPSO congress, a session is important in its own way. It had its share of disputes and clashes of opinion, but in the end the session adopted a number of important documents which will be our guides to action.

YOU ASK...

I have read many reports in the Western press about the forcible eradication of Islam and the persecution and humiliation of Muslims in your country. I would like to read a first-hand account of the situation of Muslims in the U.S.S.R.

ABDULGANI AKBAR, Malaysia

The life of Muslims in Soviet Central Asia is described by our special correspondent

With the Muslims of Soviet Central Asia

Four years ago chance—or rather bad weather—resulted in my meeting Mufti Ziyauddin Khan ibn Ishan Babakhan, chairman of the Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, at Kandahar airport in Afghanistan. The Mufti was flying to ancient Herat to meet Afghan ulemas. He had one further purpose, he told me, to see the grave of the great Uzbek poet Alisher Navoi near Herat. My destination was also that city.

A few days later we met again on a flight from Herat to Kabul. I asked the Mufti if he had liked the city, which a poet once called the "pearl of the East." He replied: "Everything was marvellous. Herat's remarkable memorials and mosques are impressive even today. But I was unable to pay homage to Alisher Navoi: the dushmans had desecrated his grave and planted land mines all around it."

In Kabul I gave the Mufti some photographs of the poet's grave which I had taken on an earlier occasion and he presented me with a copy of his book "Islam and the Muslims in the Land of Soviets," which had just been published. The author has since died but the monograph has been translated into English and Arabic and is known in many countries. The Mufti mentioned in the introduction to the book that during his visits to Arab and other countries (he was a member of the Supreme Islamic Council for Mosques at Mecca, and also a member of the Soviet Peace Committee, the Presidium of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, and the boards of the Soviet Peace Fund and the World Peace

Council) he had heard from many people that they would like to know more about the life of Muslims in the U.S.S.R.

"Imperialists, Zionists and neo-colonialists are spending vast sums of money and bending over backwards to spread allegations about the situation of Soviet citizens who profess Islam," he told me. "They are trying to prove in every way that Islam is all but banned in the U.S.S.R., that Muslims are persecuted and mosques closed, that religious education is nonexistent and that Muslims are denied access to posts of responsibility in government bodies and even to higher education. So Muslims in other countries want first-hand information about the real situation."

I recalled the Mufti's words as I re-read his book before going on to Tashkent, Bukhara, Samarkand and Khiva, cities with rich histories and cultural traditions formed under the influence of Islam.

An Imam and His Family

Stars were still twinkling in the sky and dawn was just about to break. But Babur Street and the lanes around it were well-lit, and I saw believers going to the Allan Mosque singly and in groups to perform the morning namaz on the occasion of Idul Fitr, the holiday of fast-breaking, which is commonly known as Uraz Bairam in Uzbekistan. The holiday follows Ramazan, the month of fasting. The muezzin was also making for the minaret and shortly appeared in the narrow opening at the

very top of the tall tower to call the faithful to prayer....

Now the day had come into its own and the rising sun, yet concealed by the trees, cast a glow on the roofs. The streets around the mosque filled with people coming away from the namaz. Parents bought lavash and bright orange sweets from street stalls. Young waiters in white shirts and black skull-caps darted to and fro with teapots in their hands in a tearoom nearby.

"Assalamu alaikum," passersby greeted one another.

Now I could talk to the Imam of the Allan Mosque, Mir Khoja Abdullaev. The Imam is 76 years old and has devoted half a century of his life to religious service. When he turned nine, his father, a craftsman, sent his son to a school for Koran readers. Then he was enrolled in the Tahfiz al-Koran Madrasah, where he met the future Mufti Babakhan and became his lifelong friend. Both knew the Koran by heart by the time they were thirteen, which only very few adults can boast of. Babakhan rose to the post of Mufti, the highest in the Islamic hierarchy, but Abdullaev decided to remain the Imam of his mosque although after graduating from the Miri-Arabi Madrasah in Bukhara and Al-Azhar University in

Imam Mir Khoja Abdullaev and his wife Hadicha have six children, seventeen grandchildren and one great-grandson.



Cairo he had been offered more responsible posts on more than one occasion.

"Of course, our main duty is to perform the rites prescribed by our faith," the Imam told me. "But our work is not confined to this. We are active, for instance, in the restoration of Muslim cultural monuments, of which there are many in Central Asia. You know, of course, Lenin's attitude to the problem. Once he was told that urgent repairs were needed in a famous mosque in Samarkand. It was during the early years after the October 1917 revolution, when the country did not have enough bread, let alone building materials. Yet Lenin recommended that resources for the repairs be allocated.

"Our mosque's believers are doing what they can for the greatest movement of our time, the peace movement. It is our conviction that conflicts between countries and peoples can always be avoided and that contentious problems must be settled by peaceful means. The Koran also says so. The mosque is contributing to the Peace Fund. Recently we donated several thousand rubles to it."

Abdullaev has a large family: six children, 17 grandchildren and one great-grandson. I met them at the Imam's home not far from the mosque a few days later.

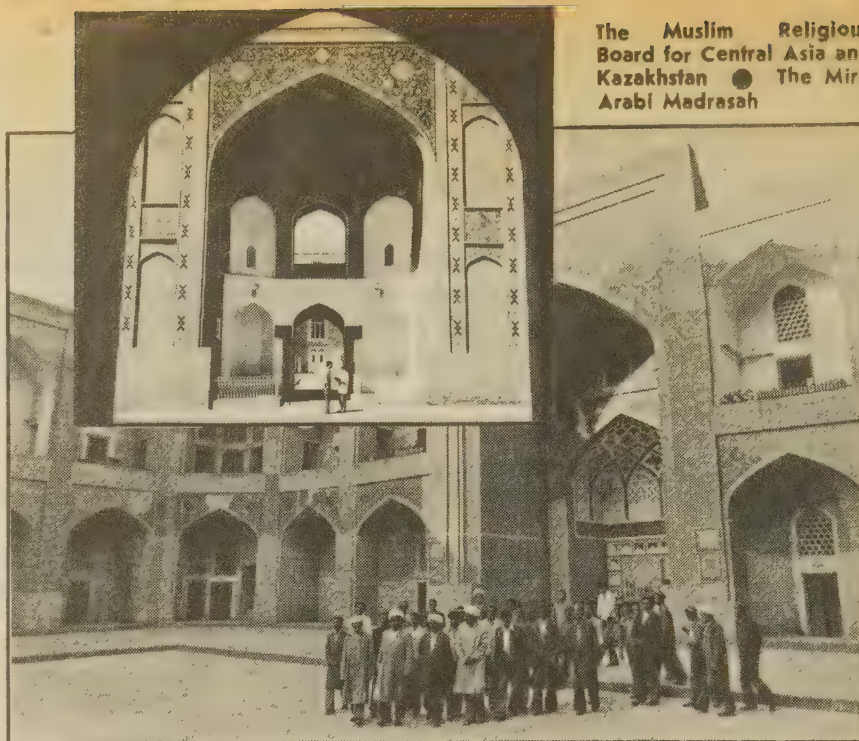
"All our children, four daughters and two sons, have higher education and are successful in their careers," the Imam's wife, Hadicha, said. "All of them live separately. Only our younger son, Makhmud, and his family live at our place."

I learned from our conversation that Makhmud, a graduate of the building department of the Tashkent Polytechnical Institute and deputy chief of a construction trust, was the only Party member in the family.

"Is there no friction with the father, an imam, and the son, a Communist, living under one roof?" I asked involuntarily.

"In Central Asia we have quite a few families in which there are both believers and non-believers. It is not a problem," Makhmud replied, while his father nodded in agreement. "My father is a devout believer but I think it is his own business. He for his part respects my convictions. Believers and non-believers live and work side by side in our country. The Soviet Constitution explicitly guarantees Soviet citizens freedom of conscience, which is the right to profess any religion or none, perform religious rites or conduct atheistic propaganda. Moreover, the Criminal Code qualifies any attempt to restrict the rights of believers as a punishable offence."

The Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan ● The Miri-Arabi Madrasah



"The Soviet press often criticizes customs and traditions that persist among some Muslims and which are harmful to society and detracting from human dignity in some cases. I mean, for instance, bride money (kalim). What are the Islamic clergy doing about such customs?" I asked the Imam.

"The custom of taking bride money is deplorable and has no foundation in the Koran. That is why the Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan has issued several fetvas, that is, decrees, intended to eradicate it. We also point to the inadmissibility of pomp and extravagance at funerals, with Muslims arranging feasts for large numbers of people, as contrary to Shariat. Supporting the ideas of the Koran, we vigorously oppose negative phenomena in Muslim life."

Miri-Arabi Madrasah

There is a legend about the Miri-Arabi Madrasah, which was built in the heart of Bukhara in 1535. According to it, a prince arrived in Bukhara from Yemen at a time when the city was besieged by enemies. The prince led a unit of fighters into battle and saved the city. In gratitude, the ruler of Bukhara allowed him to build a new madrasah in the city.

It is hard to say if the story is true but the madrasah has been training Islamic clergy for over four and a half centuries.

Who is eligible for enrolment at the Miri-Arabi Madrasah? What subjects do students study, how do they live and

what do they do after graduation?

During my visit to Miri-Arabi, I addressed these questions to principal Kimsanbai Abdurakhmanov, himself a graduate of the madrasah. He received his higher theological education in the department of Islamic law at the University of Jordan. On his return, he was managing editor of the journal Muslims of the Soviet East and Imam of the Vokkasat Mosque in Tashkent before assuming the post of the principal at the madrasah in 1982.

"At Miri-Arabi," the principal said, "you will see young Muslims not only from Soviet Central Asian union republics but also from the autonomous republics of the Northern Caucasus, from the Tatar, Udmurt and Bashkir autonomous republics, Siberia and the Urals. Virtually anyone who has got secondary school education and professes Islam can study here. The course lasts seven years. Throughout these years students are paid grants and given lodgings free of charge. The main emphasis is laid on reading and commenting on the Koran and on the history of Islam. Some secular subjects have been included in the curriculum too. Much time is devoted to Arabic."

The madrasah sends its best students to receive higher theological education at the Imam al-Bukhari Islamic Institute in Tashkent, founded in 1971 on the initiative of Mufti Ziyaaddin Babakhan. Over the past few years many graduates have continued their studies at Muslim educational establishments in other countries.

The principal took me to the madrasah library. It has a rich col-

lection of theological literature accumulated over the centuries. The librarian showed me with pride valuable editions of books by the great Oriental poets who once lived and worked in Bukhara, among them Rudaki, Dakiki, Ferdowsi, the author of the immortal "Shah-nameh," and the encyclopedist Abu Ali ibn Sina. I also had a look at students' dormitories (hudjras). In one of them Ali Akbar Saifuddinov, an Uzbek from Termez, and Rustam Khojaev, a Tajik from Dushanbe, were having a talk. Khojaev had a copy of the Koran published in Tashkent and the two were comparing the text with a Cairo edition.

"What do foreign Muslims who visit the madrasah say about it?" I put my last question to the principal.

"In the past two years alone our madrasah has been visited by Muslim clergymen from Syria, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Nigeria and Jordan," Kim-sanbai Abdurakhmanov said. "All of them are unanimous that the Miri-Arabi Madrasah in Bukhara offers its students theological education of a high standard."

Interviewing the Mufti

The Tillya Sheikh Mosque in Tashkent with its impressive portals and the bright-blue tiles of its domes stands out from among the surrounding buildings. Chairman of the Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan Mufti Shamsuddin Khan ibn Ziyaaddin Khan ibn Ishan Babakhan, a son of the previous Mufti, has his reception office in one of the outbuildings of the mosque. Before being appointed as Mufti, Shamsuddin Khan Babakhan was rector of the Tashkent Islamic Institute.

I heard the Mufti's sermon on the problems of the Middle East in the company of John Purdie and Fitzroy McLane, producers for Britain's Turner Broadcasting System (TBS).

"We Muslims of the U.S.S.R., like all Soviet citizens, are outraged by the news of the appalling crimes perpetrated by the Israeli army in Lebanon," the Mufti said. "Israel, whose policy is directed at seizing lands belonging to others and killing their inhabitants, could not have behaved so arrogantly if it had not been aware of U.S. support. Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, the keeper of our holiest shrines, Mecca and Medina, are also threatened...."

After the sermon, the Mufti granted us an interview.

"There are today roughly 800 million Muslims constituting the absolute majority of the population in 35 countries and influential minorities in 18 more

countries. Are there statistics on believers in the U.S.S.R.?" the British visitors asked.

"No statistics on religion are kept in the U.S.S.R. It is the personal affair of the individual whether to profess a faith or to be an atheist. Yet we put the number of Muslims in the country at several million. They live in various parts of the U.S.S.R. and that is why we have four independent Muslim boards."

"Western propagandists refer to all the nations living in Soviet Central Asia as Muslim nations. Is this definition accurate?" I asked the Mufti.

"Islam, of course, has influenced the culture, traditions and life-styles of the Uzbeks, Tajiks and Turkmen over the centuries," the Mufti said. "But the term 'Muslim nations' is absolutely inapplicable to the peoples of Central Asia. There can be believers and non-believers in the same family anywhere, in Central Asia and other parts of the country."

"Discussing Islam in the U.S.S.R., Western Sovietologists often claim that the Muslim has not been at all affected by the revolution and the emergence and progress of the Soviet system...."

"That is wrong. Such claims are symptomatic of their attempts to disregard the great changes that have taken place in our country and in the life of the Muslims. People who profess Islam have been changed by the age, by new life-styles. Muslims today display an interest in everything taking place in their country and abroad. They are making a contribution to contemporary science, culture and production. Their thinking has changed. Take any imam. Could he address believers today as did those mullahs who, in the age of the emirs and beys, invoked Islam to justify the exploitation of poor peasants, and fostered feudal practices?"

Then we discussed allegations by Western propaganda of "persecution of people for their religious beliefs" and infringements on the freedom of conscience and the rights of believers in Soviet legislation.

"If we take a look at the almost 70-year history of our state," the Mufti said, "we will realize that as our society progressed, Soviet legislation ensured



A restorer at work on the Bibi-Hanum Mosque in Samarkand.

Photos by author

more and more extensively the observance of the principle of freedom of conscience for all citizens as proclaimed by the Soviet Constitution.

"I can say—and facts support this unequivocally—that the Soviet state does not interfere in the internal affairs of religious associations. Our Muslim Board, for instance, regularly holds congresses, conferences and does organizational work to arrange pilgrimages to the holy places of Islam, Mecca and Medina. The Muslim Board and the mosques exist on voluntary donations from believers. These donations are exempted from tax. We receive the materials needed to build and repair religious buildings from the government. Several mosques have recently been built or are under construction in the U.S.S.R. We publish the Koran, lunar calendars and other literature. Muslim organizations in the U.S.S.R. maintain extensive contacts with religious organizations in other countries."

The time for the evening namaz came and the courtyard of the mosque began to fill up with believers. The Mufti, rising to go out for prayer, said in conclusion: "You can see with your own eyes that Muslims in the U.S.S.R. perform religious rites openly and that no one, contrary to what Western propaganda says, prevents them from doing so...."

L. MIRONOV

Khiva—Samarkand—Bukhara—
Tashkent—Moscow

Though we live in an age of synthetic substitutes, latex, the white sap of the hevea rubber plant which is one of Vietnam's main assets, is highly valued on the market. For strength, durability and reliability there is still no adequate substitute for natural rubber.

The Milky Juice of the Hevea

VICTOR KHREKOV

In the dense traffic flowing incessantly through the streets of Ho Chi Minh City in South Vietnam, you can easily spot the vehicles of the Rubber Directorate. The wheels and tarpaulin tops of the UAZ trucks have acquired a characteristic dark red coating of dust. The headquarters is in a shady, tree-lined street, while the main estates are in the southern provinces. The famous rubber plantations are located on local red soils. After the reunification of Vietnam they became the property of the socialist state.

I started my tour with a visit to Do Van Nguyen, chief of the Rubber Directorate. On the wall of his spacious office I saw a map of his "holdings" spread over an area of tens of thousands of hectares. No man is better equipped than he with knowledge of the intricate workings of the industry. Comrade Nguyen came to work on the plantations in Phu Rieng as a boy. It was here that he joined the party to become a professional revolutionary. After being caught he escaped several times from prison, worked in the underground and fought as a guerrilla against the American aggressors and their puppets. When South Vietnam was liberated, the state nationalized the plantations and set up a specialized directorate. And Do Van Nguyen's next party assignment was to manage the plantations.

"The hevea is one of Vietnam's main assets," Comrade Nguyen told me. "However, until recently industrial crops were regarded as being of secondary importance. Providing the people with food, especially rice, is no doubt a task of paramount importance. But were we right to plant rice on land that was suitable for industrial crops? Experience has shown that we lost more than we gained..."

Engrossed in thought, Nguyen poured fragrant tea into miniature cups. Then, taking a sip, he savoured the taste.

"In recent years," he said, "the situation has changed. In farming, piece-rate pay on the basis of the end result of the work has been introduced in practically all regions of the country. Thanks to this, agricultural output has been growing more steadily. In the last three years the annual increase in food production has averaged about a million tons. This growth has been achieved in spite of the floods and typhoons that raged in our country. The party's more flexible policy in the sphere of farming has borne welcome fruit. This is evident from the rubber industry.

"Planting hevea trees is costly. Considerable investment is needed. That is why we attach great importance to international cooperation. Special-purpose programmes have been worked out, and several agreements with fraternal socialist countries have been signed. The first was concluded with the Soviet Union, which gave us credit. Your country is supplying means of transportation, modern farm machinery and chemical fertilizer. We have drawn up a comprehensive programme to extend our rubber plantations for the period ending in 1990. By then they will occupy an area of about half a million hectares, mainly in the south-eastern part of the republic and some provinces of the Central Highlands."

Do Van Nguyen proposed that I visit the Dau Tieng plantations. Our party set out early in the morning. The sun had just risen so it was relatively cool—25 degrees centigrade. While we were still on our way, we felt the car grow hotter. It was becoming increasingly difficult to hold onto the grab handles as the car jolted along. Sighting the first peasant houses with their characteristic gardens with banana and orange trees and sometimes coconut palms, I gathered that the state farm was not far off. At last we saw neat rows of saplings with clean bark.

Tren Van Thang, an official from the



Rubber Directorate, explained: "As you can see, the rubber plants here are small, and the span of their branches does not completely cover the ground. So we are able to grow peanuts and a few other crops. This is a forced measure, because there is still a shortage of food in some places. Scientists recommend that we cultivate peanuts on land with hevea saplings. Indeed, the symbiosis of these crops is useful. We sell groundnuts to the state and receive vegetables, rice and meat in return."

Completely absorbed in the conversation, I failed to notice our car leaving the bumpy track to start skimming along a smooth road. Here the sun barely penetrated the foliage of full-grown rubber trees. Being over thirty years old, they would soon be cut down to make room for seedlings. Several kilometres further on we stopped at a two-storey mansion. This used to be the residence of the manager of the plantations, which were owned by Michelin of France for nearly half a century. Now it houses the administrative offices of the Dau Tieng Rubber Growing Association.

One of the biggest subdivisions of the Rubber Directorate, the association operates efficiently.

"We have entered a rather difficult period now," Le Huu Phuoc, deputy manager, said. "We have to tap latex from the old plantations and at the same time plant seedlings."

Though Le Huu Phuoc is over 50, like many other Vietnamese he looks younger than his years. He is very active and slim. You can only guess his age from the grey in his hair. His whole life has been connected with the plantation. He began working on it with his parents as a boy. First he carried heavy pails of milky sap. Then, when he was older, his father taught him the secrets of the trade. The operation requires great skill. Using a special cutter resembling a sickle you have to make a spiral groove in the trunk of the tree. This requires great care. If you cut too deep, the tree may not survive. If you do not cut deep enough the latex will not run. A lot also depends on the angle at which the cutter is inclined.

While working on the Michelin plantations, Le Huu Phuoc joined the Communist Party. Initially, he was given simple assignments. He was a liaison man for the cell. Later even older comrades recognized him as their leader. He was repeatedly caught by the secret police. After brutal torture he would be placed in a punishment cell. Having made his escape, he worked in the underground. Faith in victory gave him courage and strength. He knew that the day would come when a red flag with a gold star, the banner of the triumphant people, would be

hoisted over the manager's residence.

It should be mentioned that one of the first strikes in Vietnam took place here, on the Phu Rieng plantations, in August-September 1927. Driven to despair by relentless exploitation, the coolies rallied to fight the planters. Axes in hand, over 3,000 people started to cut down the trees. They regarded the plantations as the cause of all their sufferings. The authorities put down the uprising brutally. Tran Du Chi, leader of the strike, was executed. Twenty others were thrown into tiger cages on Con Dao, the island of death.

Some of those who took part in the events that make up the history of the Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle are still alive. Though old, they continue to work and pass on their knowledge and skills to young people. I chanced to meet a former coolie. He now works as an instructor of young workers (this position exists on the Dau Tieng plantations). When I was introduced to Tran Van Dong, I could not help noticing how he spoke. He had a distinct Hanoi accent. I doubted whether bac (uncle) Dong, who had worked here for six decades, was a southerner. I was right. Tran Van Dong, it turned out, came from the north. He had not actually come of his own accord, as he was fraudulently recruited as a cheap labour and forcibly brought to the south. The recruiting agents took advantage of unemployment in Hanoi and the desperate plight of the northerners.

"I've worked on these plantations for more than half a century," Uncle Dong recalled. "It was particularly hard to start with. All the new recruits hardly knew each other and were frightened to death by the threats of the overseers and planters. They would give us no money, only coupons which we could use to buy a little food at exorbitant prices. I had to work three months for the clothing they issued to me on arrival.

"Like many of my friends, I hated the sight of the rubber tree. It was the source of all our troubles, we thought. But gradually I got used to my work. A conscientious attitude to work, however hard, is in our people's blood. It was also exciting to watch a delicate shoot with three or four leaves gradually gain the strength to produce the highly valued milky sap in seven years' time."

"What has changed on the plantations in recent years?" I asked.

After a moment's thought Uncle Dong smiled and replied: "Obviously, you expect me to say that there are many changes, that the trees are better and produce more latex. It's not that simple. Yes, the people have become masters of the land. The plantations are now owned by reunified Vietnam. Efforts were made to rehabilitate them as

soon as the South was liberated. I was not working then, because I had decided to live out my remaining years in peace, in a small house I had built on my scanty savings. But I followed the developments keenly. Some boys came from the town. They quickly cleared several dozen hectares of forest, planted seedlings and put up several notice boards: 'State rubber plantations.' But the seedlings did not take root. I saw the same thing happen the following year."

Suddenly turning to Le Huu Phuoc, Uncle Dong shook his finger in mock displeasure, saying: "It was he who got me back to work again. He would not let an old man live his last years in peace. I knew him as a boy. He returned home about five years ago to become manager of a state farm. He came to me immediately.

"'Uncle Dong,' he said to me, 'you have seen what is happening. Please help.'

"Well, I got my old friends together and formed a team of veterans. We recollected all we knew about preparing for the planting of seedlings and grafting twigs onto them. We taught the boys how to cut grooves in the trunks of the trees. We now have our own agronomist. I respectfully call him Science. He certainly knows a lot about the hevea. But our experience counts too. A lot has changed. And the main change is the new attitude to work."

Uncle Dong did not mention all the changes, of course. He did not mention either the three rubber processing plants—subsidiaries of the Dau Tieng Association. It is they that turn the thick milky sap collected from the trees every morning into rubber. The process is quite simple. The white fluid is flushed with chemicals and then put through a small press—two rollers which shape it into a narrow white strip. One of the rollers is toothed so the strip looks like a huge wafer. After the strip has been cut one of the main stages of the process—drying—begins.

Nguyen Van Thien, manager of one of the plants, explained to me: "The rubber is kept for almost a day in huge drying compartments in which a constant temperature is maintained. If you keep it too long it will be excessively smoked, and its quality will be low. This is, therefore, an important part of the process."

Formerly rubber plantations in Vietnam were known as "hell on earth." Although work is not easy here now, the hevea is no longer called the accursed tree. Today rubber growers are not working to enrich the owners of Michelin. They are working for the good of the whole people, now the masters of their country.

Ho Chi Minh City—Moscow

My country was among the first to ban the import of radiation-contaminated fruit and vegetables from Eastern Europe. In this way our government demonstrated its concern for the nation's health. I am grateful to it for this. Nevertheless, these measures have already come under fire from certain critics. According to L'Humanité, this is a politically-motivated move. I believe this allegation to be simply immoral.

Jacques BOURGES
Rheims, France



SERGEI GOLYAKOV,
our Assistant
Editor-in-Chief,
replies:

Reading your letter I had the impression that you live in a world of preconceived notions. It goes without saying that products unfit for human consumption should not be used as food. But then would any self-respecting trader offer such products for sale on the international market? After all, international trade is not the private grocery business across the road. It is governed by strict rules which protect the interests of sellers and buyers alike. Our Foreign Trade Ministry experts tell me that every consignment of Soviet food products intended for export is subjected to a thorough inspection and supplied complete with a certificate guaranteeing high quality and safety.

This, doubtless, is also routine practice with the foreign trade organizations of Hungary, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, whose farm products have been banned from Western Europe by a decision of the EEC countries' foreign ministers. Is it in their interests to palm off contaminated products?

Incidentally, why should their food products be automatically dismissed as unfit to eat? But is the picture really as black as it is painted by the Western media? It has turned out that there is no cause for anxiety. Soviet and unbiased foreign experts alike describe the radiation level as low and steadily diminishing.

If this conclusion seems hollow may I refer to a report by experts at the World Health Organization, a specialized U.N. institution whose function it is to monitor health worldwide. This authoritative report says in so many words that the ban certain countries have imposed on the import of food products is completely groundless. The WHO's only recommendation is to wash fresh fruit and vegetables before eating—something any normally fastidious housewife does as a matter of course.

As you see the rumours about the radioactive contamination of fresh fruit and vegetables in Eastern Europe are grossly exaggerated — like many other "reports" Western papers have carried in connection with the Chernobyl accident. The International Herald Tribune, for instance, put the population of this small town at nearly 1.5 million as against the real figure of a few thousand. Another American paper, the New York Post, front-paged an item pronouncing Chernobyl to have been reduced to a "mass grave." The accident has triggered off a chain reaction of misinformation.

But let us get back to our subject. Although farm products from socialist countries have been proved to be as wholesome and harmless as ever, the ban on them remains in force. Why? However one looks at it, L'Humanité is right. This measure has nothing to do with concern for human health. It is a discriminatory and politically motivated move. We admit that, for all we know, certain quarters may have jumped at the chance to capitalize on the disaster by keeping products from the socialist countries off Common Market countries, if only for the time being. The stakes are considerable: the ban will deprive the socialist countries of hundreds of millions of dollars (at a Western estimate), and some would certainly have no scruples about pocketing the money.

Still, political motives clearly predominate. This is by no means the first time attempts have been made to create difficulties for the socialist countries and sabotage East-West economic cooperation under far-fetched pretexts. We have had more than our share of embargoes, bans and restrictions. I remember the owner of a New York supermarket emptying bottle after bottle of Stolichnaya vodka into the gutter at the height of another hysterical anti-communist campaign. While disposing of Russian vodka, the Americans tried to talk their allies into giving up something far more expensive, namely, Soviet orders for trans-European pipeline equipment.

Isn't history repeating itself today? The Common Market countries adopted the decision in question shortly after the Seven's Tokyo conference. Under pressure from the United States the countries taking part gave another signal for the continued political exploitation of the fears caused by the Chernobyl disaster. The Common Market lost no time in acting on the call from Tokyo. It has boycotted Polish radishes and Yugoslavian tomatoes, oblivious of the fact that the real danger to mankind's health — and to its very existence, for that matter — comes from elsewhere, namely from preparations for nuclear war and the deadly arms race which the U.S. will not stop or curb.

To quote Mikhail Gorbachev, the Chernobyl tragedy has been taken in the Soviet Union as another alarm signal, another grim warning that the nuclear age calls for new political thinking and a new policy. On the other hand, the U.S. and its allies regard this incident as a pretext for putting additional obstacles in the way of the development and deepening of East-West dialogue, difficult as this already is, for trying to justify the nuclear arms race. So much for the issue of morality and immorality in this context.

How Goes It, Marianne?

Marianne—France—plods along a rough road, picking her way carefully for fear of losing her balance.

Unemployment. Already more than two million able-bodied French men and women have lost their jobs, lost their place in life. Soon there will be about three million of them.

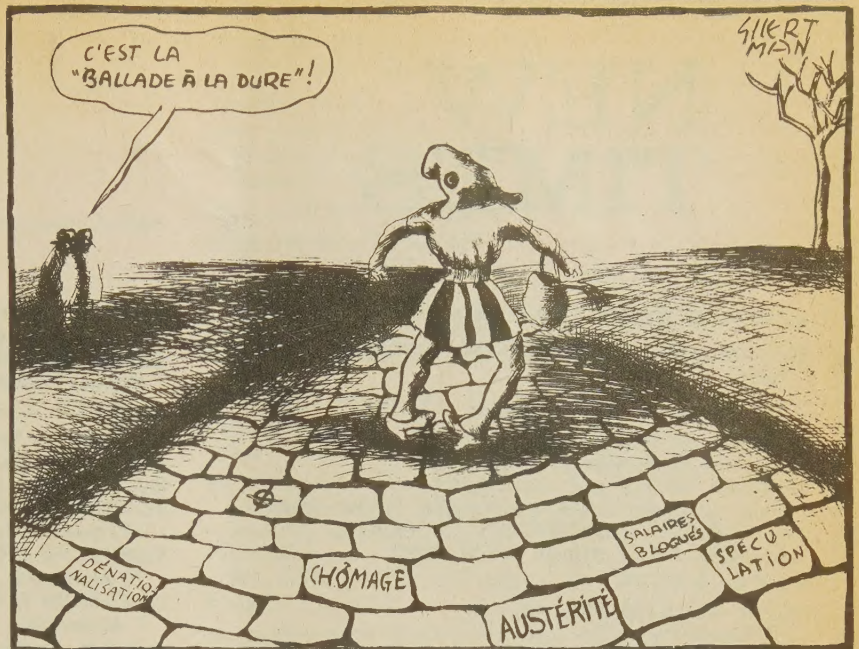
Profiteering. Smart wheeler-dealers are jubilant, parasitizing on the decency of those who don't swindle, who earn their daily bread by honest toil.

Frozen wages. Prices are not frozen. They keep soaring.

Austerity. Economize in everything! Millionaires and paupers, economize for the sake of the common prosperity.

Denationalization. Down with the state sector! Long live private capital! It alone can extricate France from the quagmire of crisis.

The Celtic cross. Emblem of the ultra-right National Front. Its deputies now sit in parliament. Its credo: Kill the immigrant workers! Ghettos for the Com-



munists! Hail "star wars"!

"What a hard and dreary road it is!" people on the sidelines say.

This drawing is by the French cartoonist Gherman. On more than one occasion we have reprinted from L'Humanité his pungent graphic commentaries on different events in France.

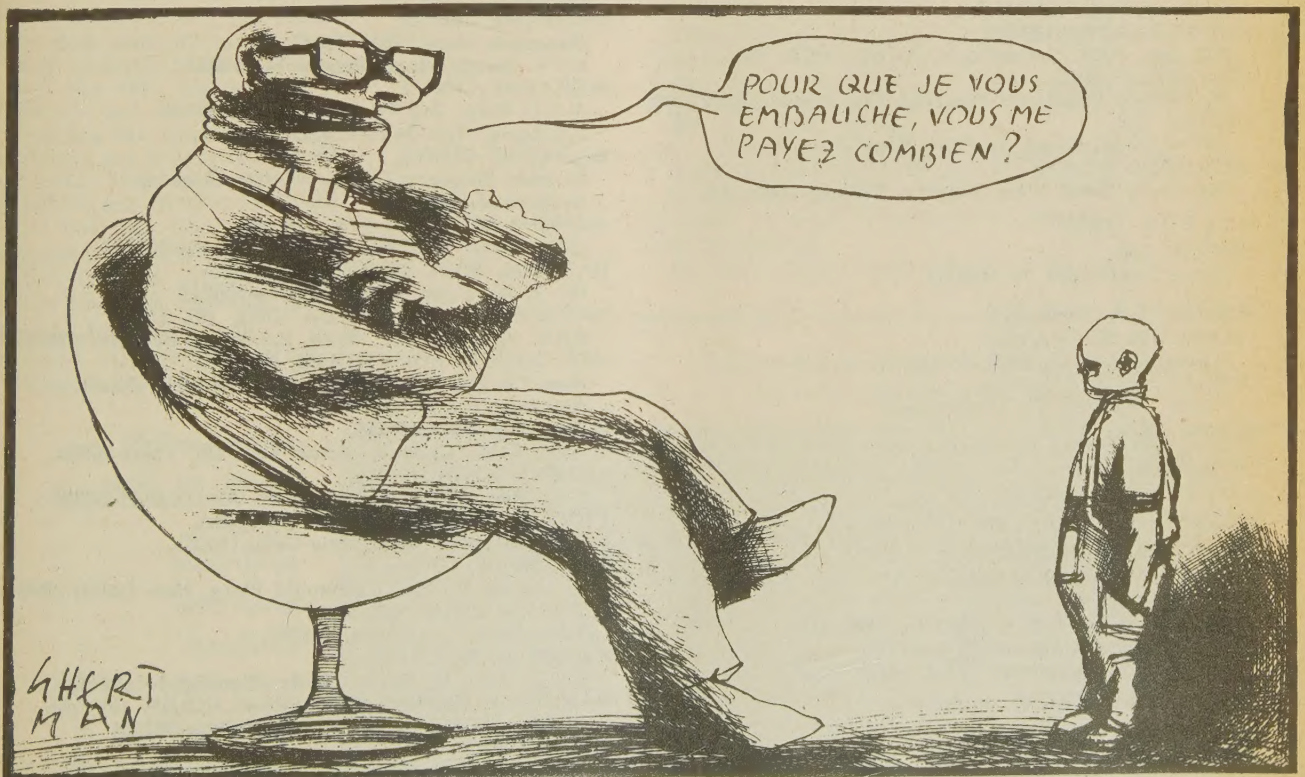
The lower drawing is from the Sunday edition of the paper in which the artist

now has a regular feature.

Employer to unemployed: "How much will you pay me to hire you?"

The government of the right bourgeois parties that came to power after the March elections to the National Assembly has already adopted a number of anti-democratic measures.

With these Gherman cartoons we are starting this new feature.



NEW TIMES



may be
obtained
from:

AFGHANISTAN (100.00 Afg.)

BAIHAKE BOOK PUBLISHING AND IMPORTING INSTITUTE,
Kabul.

AUSTRALIA (Austr. \$14.40)

GORDON and GOTCH Ltd.,
P.O. Box 29, Burwood, Victoria 3125.
NEW ERA BOOKS AND RECORDS,
64-68 Shepherd Street, Marrickville, N.S.W. 2204.
C.B.D. LIBRARY AND SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE,
Box 4886, G.P.O., Sydney, N.S.W., 2000.

BANGLADESH (Tk. 65.00)

JATIYA SHAHITYA PRAKASHANI,
10, Purana Paltan, Dacca-2.
NORTH BENGAL BOOK DEPOT,
Station Road, P.O. Alamnagar, Rangpur.
STANDARD PUBLISHERS,
3/10 Liaquat Avenue, Dacca-1.

BURMA (U.S. \$9.60)

PAPER, STATIONERY, PRINTED MATTER
AND PHOTOGRAPHIC STORES TRADE CORPORATION,
550/552, Merchant Street, Rangoon.

CANADA (Can. \$18.00)

CO-OP BOOKSHOP,
302, Notre Dame Avenue,
Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 1P4.
LIBRAIRIE NOUVELLES FRONTIERES, Inc.,
185, rue Ontario est,
Montreal, P.Q., H2X 1H5.
NORTHERN BOOK HOUSE,
P.O. Box 1000, Gravenhurst, Ontario, POC 1G0.
PROGRESS BOOKS,
71, Bathurst Street, 3rd Floor, Toronto, Ontario, M5V 2P6.
TROYKA, Ltd.,
799, College Street, Toronto, Ontario, M6G 1C7.
UKRAINSKA KNYHA,
962, Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario, M6H 1L6.

CYPRUS (£8.00)

SPUTNIK, Ltd.,
Const. Paleologou, 19, Nicosia.

DENMARK (D.kr. 120)

AKADEMISK BOGHANDEL,
Universitetsparken, 8000, Aarhus C.
SPUTNIK INTERNATIONAL,
Vester Voldgade 11, Copenhagen.

EGYPT (\$9.60)

AL AHAM,
Al Galaa Street, Cairo, T.

FINLAND (F. MK 64)

AKATEEMINEN KIRJAKAUPPA,
Postilokero 128, 00100 Helsinki 10.
LEHTIKANAVA,
Näsilinnankatu 22 A 39, 33210 Tampere 21.
SUOMALAINEN KIRJAKAUPPA OY,
Subscription Department, Pl 2, 01641 Vantaa 64.

GREAT BRITAIN (£8.00)

COLLET'S HOLDINGS, Ltd.,
Denington Estate, Wellingborough, Northants NN8 2QT.

CENTRAL BOOKS, Ltd.,
14, The Leathermarket, London SE1 3ER.
BAILEY SUBSCRIPTION AGENTS, Ltd.,
Warner House, Folkestone, Kent CT19 6PH.

GREECE (D.M. 34)

KULTURA, 10 Tsimiski Str., Thessaloniki.
KULTURA, 6 Genadiou Str. (Akademias), Athens.
KULTURA, 25 Vasilias Sofias Str., Thessaloniki.
SYNCHRONI EPOCHI,
130 Solonos Str., Athens 145.
SYNCHRONI EPOCHI,
78 Akademias Str., Athens 142
SYNCHRONI EPOCHI,
7 Aristotelous Str., Thessaloniki.

HONG KONG (U.S. \$9.60)

APOLLO BOOK COMPANY, Ltd.,
(Japanese Book Centre), T.S.T. P.O. Box 95710, Kowloon.
GREAT EASTERN BOOK COMPANY,
123, Hennessy Road, 13/F, P.O. Box 20005.
TKC COMPANY,
P.O. Box 2163.

ICELAND (\$12.00)

BOKABUD MALS OG MENNINGAR,
Laugavegi 18, Reykjavik.

INDIA (Rs. 40 for three years)

BINGSHA SHATABDI,
75/c, Park Street, Calcutta-700016.
LOK VANGMAYA GRIHA, (P), Ltd.,
85, Sayani Road, Prabhadevi, Bombay-400025.

MAGAZINE CENTRE,
Ganapathi Bldgs., 2nd Floor,
B.V.K. Iyengar Road, Bangalore-560053.

MAGAZINE CENTRE,
M.C.D. Bldg., 2nd Floor, D.B. Gupta Road.
Paharganj, New Delhi-110055.

MAGAZINE CENTRE,
54, Abid Shopping Centre, Chirag Ali Lane,
Hyderabad-500001.

MANISHA GRANTHALAYA, (P), Ltd.,
4/3B, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-700073.

NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY, (P), Ltd.,
No. 2, Surya Sen Street, Calcutta-700012.

NAVAKARNATAKA PUBLICATIONS, (P), Ltd.,
B.R.C. Complex, S.C. Road, Karnataka, Bangalore-560009.

NEW CENTURY BOOK HOUSE, (P), Ltd.,
New Century Bldg., 41-B, Sidco Industrial Estate,
Ambattur, Madras-600098.

PEOPLE'S BOOK HOUSE,
Opp. Patna College, Ashok Raj Path, Patna-80004.

PEOPLE'S BOOK HOUSE,
Piramshah, Manzil, Relief Road, Ahmedabad-380001.

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, (P), Ltd.,
5-E, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-110055.

P.P.H. SHOW ROOM,
2, Mazina Arcade, Connaught Place, New Delhi-110001.

PRABHATH BOOK HOUSE,
Vanchiyoore, Trivandrum-695035.

PUNJAB BOOK CENTRE,
S.C.O. 1126-27, Sector 22-B, Chandigarh-160022.

RAJASTHAN PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, (P), Ltd.,
Chamlwala Market, M. I. Road, Jaipur-302001.

SAHITYALAYA,
56/5 Sirki Mohal Chauraha, Kanpur-208001.

VIJAY STORES,
Station Road, Anand-388001.

VIJAY STORES,
62, Kalyan Bhuvan, Ahmedabad-380001.

VIJAY STORES,
Commissariat Bldg., 1st Floor, 231,
D.N. Road, Bombay-400001.

VISALAANDHRA PUBLISHING HOUSE,
Chandram Bldgs., Machavaram P.O., Vijayawada-520004.

IRAN (U.S. \$9.60)
BOOKSTORE SAKO HOVSEPIAN,
P.O. Box 1597, Tehran 11.
EDITIONS MIR (Gutenberg),
Engelab Avenue, Opp. Tehran University, Tehran.

IRELAND (£8.00)
NEW BOOKS,
43, East Essex Street, Dublin-2.
REPSOL, Ltd.,
30, Gardiner Place, Dublin-1.

JAPAN (Yen 2,800)
"NAUKA", Ltd.,
2-30-19, Minami-ikebukuro, Toshima-Ku,
171 Tokyo.
NISSO-TOSHO, Ltd.,
1-5-16, Suido, Bunkyo-Ku, Tokyo.

JORDAN (\$9.60)
JORDAN DISTRIBUTION AGENCY,
P.O. Box 375, Amman.

MALTA (£8.00)
PROGRESSIVE BOOKS,
Vincenti Bldgs., Strait Street, Valletta

NEPAL (Rs. 25.00)
BAJE KO PASAL,
Bank Road Biratnagar, P.B. 1., Biratnagar.

NETHERLANDS (H.fl. 46)
PEGASUS BOEKHANDEL,
Leidsestraat 25, Amsterdam.
SWETS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE,
P.O. Box 845, 2160 SZ Lisse.

NEW ZEALAND (NZ \$20.00)
**NEW ZEALAND SOCIALIST PUBLISHING
AND DISTRIBUTION COMPANY, Ltd.**,
P.O. Box 1987, Auckland-1.
GORDON and GOTCH (N.Z.) Ltd.,
P.O. Box 584, Auckland.
GORDON and GOTCH (N.Z.) Ltd.,
P.O. Box 1959, Wellington.
GORDON and GOTCH (N.Z.) Ltd.,
P.O. Box 1462, Christchurch.

NORWAY (N.kr. 90)
NARVESENS A.S. LITERATURTJENESTE,
P.O. Box 6125, Etterstad, Oslo.

PAKISTAN (Rs. 65)
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE,
4-Begum Road, P.O. Box 862, Lahore.

STANDARD PUBLISHING HOUSE,
Fatima Jinnah Road, Karachi-4.

SINGAPORE (U.S. \$9.60)
NEW SOVIET GALLERY PTE., Ltd.,
14 Scotts Road, 04-19/20/21, Far East Plaza,
Singapore-0922.

SRI LANKA (Rs.54.00)
LAKE HOUSE BOOKSHOP,
100, Chittampalam Gardiner Mawatha, Colombo-2.
McCALLUM BOOK DEPOT,
77, Olcott Mawatha, Colombo-11.
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, Ltd.,
124, Kumaran Ratnam Road, Colombo-2.

SWEDEN (Sw.cr. 88)
FÖRBUNDET SVERIGE-SOVJETUNIONEN,
Box 15096, S-104 65, Stockholm.

WENNERGREN-WILLIAMS A. B.,
Subscription Department, Box 30004,
S-104 25, Stockholm.

INTER-BOK AB,
Box 49079, 10028, Stockholm.

SYRIA (\$£22.50)
AL-ZAHRA NEW BOOKSHOP,
P.O. Box 2858, Damascus.
MAYSALOON BOOKSHOP,
P.O. Box 2675, Maysaloun Str., Damascus.

THAILAND (U.S. \$9.60)
THAISOV COMPANY, Ltd.,
390, Siam Square Soi 5, Rama 1 Road, Bangkok 5.

U.S. A. (\$16.60)
EBSCO INDUSTRIES, Inc.,
1st Ave. North at 13th Street, Birmingham,
Alabama 35201-1943.
IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, Inc.,
320, West Ohio Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60610.
TOTAL CIRCULATION SERVICES, Inc.,
300, Hudson Street, Hackensack, N.J. 07601.
VICTOR KAMKIN, Inc.,
12224, Parklawn Drive, Rockville, Md. 20852.
ZNANIE BOOKSTORE,
5237, Geary Boulevard, San Francisco, Cal. 94118.

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF YEMEN** (\$9.60)
**THE 14th OCTOBER PRINTING, PUBLICATION,
DISTRIBUTION, ADVERTISING CORPORATION**,
P.O. Box 4227, Aden.

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC (\$9.60)
DAR AL-KALAM,
Ali Abdul Mugni Street, P.O. Box 1107, Sana.

Cut out this form and send it to any distributor
of Soviet periodicals in your country

Subscriptions
may be placed
with all
bookshops
and firms
handling
Soviet publications
as agencies
of Mezhdunarodnaya
Kniga

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Please enter my subscription to the English edition of NEW TIMES for 1 year
(2, 3 years). Enclosed you will find in cash (cheque,
postal order).

Name

Address

Date Signature

INTERNATIONAL
YEAR OF PEACE
PHOTO AND
GRAPHICS CONTEST



Photos
by **MANFRED
SCHOLZ**
(F.R.G.)

MANFRED SCHOLZ is a well-known news photographer on the staff of the newspaper *Unsere Zeit*. The struggle of the working people of capitalist countries for their rights, for peace and social progress is the main theme of his work.

